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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Dedicated to the memory of Jim Stewart (1952-2016)

Abstract

The relationship between modernist fiction and visual culture has received substantial critical attention in recent years. However, many of the studies on this intermediality focus primarily on the drama, poetry, and novels of male authors, with Virginia Woolf being the only significant exception to this rule. I propose that this engagement with the visual in modernist fiction has a different social and cultural significance in the works of women writers. With reference to the short stories of Katherine Mansfield, I will explore the attempt to establish a female literary voice in what was perhaps the greatest transitory period for the role of women in the Western world.

Although studies exist that consider the relationship between Mansfield's writing and modern art and cinema, this thesis will provide a wider context for this period of cultural history. I take a variety of technological advancements into account, examining they ways in which they collectively provided the inspiration behind modernist literature's new subjectivity of vision. As well as film, I will discuss the arts that developed prior to or alongside it, from the magic lantern to photography, and the impact they had on literature as writers sought new forms of representation. Furthermore, I believe that I will be able to examine this shift in cultural consciousness in a unique way through my focus on Mansfield, an author whose experimental work has received far less critical attention in terms of its engagement with other media than that of her contemporaries. Through reference to the visual arts, Mansfield was able to subjectively focalise her short stories through the eyes of her characters, presenting the ways in which women see and are seen in early twentieth-century society.

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Introduction: 'At moments it seems to me that all literature is in that picture'

Between the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a transition occurred in modern fiction as writers became increasingly reliant on visual forms of representation. This 'turn of the novel' in the words of Malcolm Bradbury was due to a variety of factors, from the social – the growth of urban populations and acceleration of technological change; to the intellectual – the rise of secular philosophies and scientific theories; to the psychological – the changing conception of the individual and the shift to a more progressive relationship between the sexes.[1] According to Laura Marcus, this new visually conscious style of fiction was connected to the coming of cinema. Marcus asserts that 'the relations between the visual and the verbal, the artist and the writer, were at the heart of Bloomsbury culture, and film played a crucial role in redefinitions of the established arts in the modernist period'.[2] Although the new medium of the cinema provided writers with a unique framework with which they could shape the form of their fiction, it is necessary to return to a pre-cinematic period in order to fully trace the history of the relationship between word and image. The preoccupation with the visual was shared by a variety of proto-modernist writers: Joseph Conrad famously wrote that 'my task which I am trying to achieve is, by the power of the written word to make you hear, to make you feel – it is before all to make you *see*',[3] Balzac contrasted the eighteenth century 'literature of ideas' with the nineteenth-century 'literature of images',[4] while Gustave Flaubert referred to literary genius as 'the ability to *see*, to have your model constantly posing in front of you'.[5]

While a large amount of critical attention has been given to the relationship between word and image in the works of 'key' modernist figures such as James Joyce and Virginia Woolf, a clear affinity with art, cinema and other visual technologies is also apparent in the works of Katherine Mansfield. Mansfield was born in Wellington, New Zealand in 1888, and throughout her short life she was immersed in the arts, as a writer, performer, musician and actor, as well as being friends with many experimental modern painters. In this thesis, I aim to explore the relationship between Mansfield's writing and visual culture. I will examine the changes that took place in modern painting due to various technological innovations, situating Mansfield's work in the context of this shift to subjective vision. In my discussion of photography, I consider the photograph as both a symbol of truth and as a fetish object, explaining the significance of the use of photography in Mansfield's fiction. As well as the new technology of the photograph, new forms of high-speed transport also altered human perception in the nineteenth century, and my third chapter considers the visual effects of travelling on human consciousness. The following two chapters explore the rich history of nineteenth-century visual entertainment, connecting technologies like the magic lantern and the panorama to the experimental effects used in Mansfield's short stories. Finally, I will discuss Mansfield's relationship

with the cinema, and the ways in which this new medium influenced modern fiction, as well as providing a unique new space for women to contribute to the arts.

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I. Word and Image Studies

In order to study the relationship between the visual and the verbal, it is necessary to take an intermedial approach, examining the influence of images on the written word. The late nineteenth century marked a time of transition in the arts: just as the structure of the novel was changing, scientific and technological innovations also had a profound effect on the creative process in other forms of media. The birth of commercial photography in 1839 gave rise to movements like Impressionism and Expressionism, as artists eschewed the direct representation that the camera had perfected in favour of exploring subjective interpretations of their surroundings. Countless forms of popular visual entertainment technologies were also developed in this period, from children's optical toys like the phenakistoscope and the zoetrope to the mass viewing experience of the magic lantern show, all related to experiments with photographic and motion picture technologies. Although not generally examined alongside Victorian entertainment, new high-speed forms of transport like the train also had a part to play in the zeitgeist of visuality, changing perceptions of time, space and perspective. In an examination of the changing structure of modernist fiction, it is therefore necessary to examine these changes as merely one component element of a media-transitional period.

A variety of significant studies exist that compare modernist fiction with visual media, many of which I draw on in this thesis: Wendy Steiner's *The Colors of Rhetoric: Problems in the Relation Between Modern Literature and Painting* (1982), David Trotter's *Cinema and Modernism* (2007), Laura Marcus's *The Tenth Muse: Writing about Cinema in the Modernist Period* (2007) and Keith Cohen's *Film and Fiction: The Dynamics of Exchange* (1979). Some of these critics point out the issues surrounding inter-art analogies, such as Steiner, who argues that different art forms can only be compared through metaphor or translation. According to Steiner, the words we use to describe an artwork, such as open/closed, symmetrical/asymmetrical, have different meanings when applied to a painting as opposed to a literary text. This means that arguments that compare the structure of the two different media are incorrect, as inter-art comparisons are only homonymic, with descriptive terms having different meanings in their respective contexts.[6] While it is important to consider the essential differences between visual and verbal media, Steiner's argument against a comparison between the two is flawed in that it fails to consider influence: would modernist authors have written in the way that they did if they had not been the products of such an innovative era for art

and technology? Jan Mukařovský provides an alternative reading to Steiner, arguing that visual and verbal arts share affinities through the power of mimesis, and that 'the capacity of expressing the phenomena of external reality through signs connected in a continuous contexture' is what connects the two forms.[7] As Mukařovský suggests, the relationship between word and image is reliant on semiotics, with the meaning of a work of art often being dependent on the viewer's foreknowledge of a particular mythological, Biblical or literary text on which the painting is based. In *Film and Fiction*, Keith Cohen suggests that modern fiction depends on 'a cinematic way of seeing and telling things', representing a shift away from 'artistic purity' and towards 'artist exchange'.[8] Cohen bases his study on the assumption that both words and images are signs which belong to systems, and that these systems bear resemblances to one another, with the same perceptual, referential or symbolic codes reappearing in more than one system.[9] In this thesis I will explore these connections in Mansfield's writing, considering the reasons behind the use of this multidisciplinary form.

Another argument against a comparative study of visual and verbal media appears in David Trotter's *Cinema and Modernism*. According to Trotter,

> Where literature and film are concerned, argument by analogy fails not only on historical but also on theoretical grounds. Literature is a representational medium, film a recording medium. The freedom modernist literature sought was freedom from the ways in which the world had hitherto been represented in literature. The freedom film sought (initially, at any rate, if not for very long) was freedom from representation: the freedom merely to record.[10]

While Trotter correctly points out that modernist writers were searching for new forms of representation, his argument that film is a 'neutral' form of art could be extended to consider that the subject to be filmed and the ways in which it is framed and edited are all determined by human agency. The most 'neutral' films were the early *actualités*, or non-fiction films, with filmmakers like the Lumière brothers recording small, everyday events – most famously, workers leaving a factory and a train arriving at a station. It is however possible to read Mansfield's fiction as a literary equivalent to these *actualité* films, particularly in stories like 'Bank Holiday' (1920), in which conventional narrative is replaced by a description of a busy crowd scene. As Woolf points out in her essay 'Modern Fiction' (1919), truly modern writers should aspire not to create narrative but rather to record a series of visual impressions:

> Look within, and life, it seems, is very far from being 'like this'. Examine for a moment an ordinary mind on an ordinary day. The mind receives a myriad impressions – trivial, fantastic, evanescent, or engraved with sharpness of steel.

> From all sides they come, an incessant shower of innumerable atoms; and as they fall, as they shape themselves into the life of Monday or Tuesday, the accent falls differently from of old, a moment of importance came not here but there; so that, if a writer were a free man and not a slave […] there would be no plot, no comedy, no tragedy, no love interest or catastrophe in the accepted style.[11]

In an article in the January 1929 issue of *Close Up* magazine, Dorothy Richardson described film in similar terms to Trotter, suggesting that the first filmmakers 'were not concerned, or at any rate not very deeply concerned, either with idea or characterisation. Like the snap-shot, they recorded'.[12] Richardson's reflections on film have parallels with the goals of many modernist writers, as they attempted to disintegrate literary art into a neutral medium.[13] T. S. Eliot's 'The Waste Land' (1922) is a collage of glimpsed sights and overheard snatches of conversation, while James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922) is composed of a series of fragmented, cinematic impressions, as Bloom walks around Dublin, recording images around him with an imaginary camera: 'Ah, see now. Falls back suddenly, frozen in stereoscope. Click does the trick'.[14] Mansfield similarly explores the flux of human visual experience in her writing. Her stories open abruptly - perhaps most strikingly so in 'The Garden Party' (1921) with the conversational 'And after all the weather was ideal' – and often feature unsatisfactory or open endings.[15] The body of Mansfield's texts are similarly snapshot-like, providing only the briefest glimpses into her characters' lives and consciousnesses.

While critics draw attention to the intermedial nature of modernist fiction, it is also important to consider the reasons behind these changes. In his study *Fiction and the Camera Eye*: *Visual Consciousness in Film and the Modern Novel* (1976), Alan Spiegel argues that the new visually conscious novel was symptomatic of the shift from a theological to a scientific understanding of the world, meaning that in modern fiction, 'truth' can only be revealed through sensory experience rather than authorial intervention.[16] In an uncertain modern world, Spiegel suggests, an author is no longer an authority: the common practise of pausing action in the novel to allow for exposition is replaced by a new subjectivity, with character development being achieved by immersing the reader in the character's visual process; in other words, a shift to showing rather than telling. Spiegel contends that the first example of the conventional modern novel appeared in 1857 with Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*, a 'highly sensuous and visualized narrative' which uses concretized form in order to reveal the events of the narrative through the eyes of its characters.[17] The eponymous Madame Bovary is seen in the novel before she is named, as Flaubert is aware 'that character cannot precede action, that action shapes, modulates, and embodies character, and that to hold character apart from, and prior to, action as a self-sufficient entity is to perform a supreme act of confidence for which the uncertainties of modern experience will no longer make allowance'.[18] As the author no

longer intervenes to distance the reader from the action, concretized fiction therefore allows readers to experience action the way that the focalising characters do. This visually conscious form demands an active rather than a passive audience: according to Spiegel, 'the words that convey the concretized narrative refer the reader to objects in the external world […] the words have been chosen to make him grasp the subject largely by means of visual images'.[19]

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II. The Critical Gap

While Spiegel's arguments take into account a range of social and cultural changes that were taking place throughout the nineteenth century, an important historical factor that he fails to consider is the changing position of women during this time. During the years that Mansfield wrote the majority of her works, from around 1907 to her death in January 1923, upper-middle class Western women were afforded a higher level of creative freedom than ever before, yet their experiences and opportunities remained heavily restricted by an enduringly patriarchal society. While change was undoubtedly occurring for women during this time, with the rise of the suffragist movement and the ubiquity of the 'New Woman' and the flapper, progress for most women – the working classes and women of colour in particular – was still painstakingly slow. Victorian morality and family values endured well beyond the Victorian period, with women to this day being regarded with suspicion should they fail to fulfil their expected role of marriage and motherhood. In this thesis, therefore, I aim to reinterpret Spiegel's arguments from a feminist perspective, suggesting that the visual consciousness of modernist fiction is indicative of a rejection of patriarchal as well as theological 'truths'. Through a study of Mansfield's fiction, it is possible to trace the development of a new form of writing that draws on other forms of media in an attempt to transcend previous male-established literary conventions. Due to the fact that few studies currently exist that consider a visually conscious literary style particularly in context of women's fiction, I hope to shed light on this rich area of critical enquiry, discussing how women see and are seen in the early twentieth century.

In her study *Women of the Left Bank* (1986), Shari Benstock poses the question 'what does it mean to be a woman writer in a culture whose definitions of literary authority are both overtly and covertly patriarchal?'[20] According to Benstock, deconstructive critical theory reveals the connection between patriarchal culture and Western thought, both of which are structured in terms of polarities – male/female, good/evil, verbal/visual – in which the second term is 'considered the negative, corrupt, undesirable version of the first'.[21] While it is vital to account for women's individual experiences and consider variety in age, race, sexuality and social class, as well as countless other cultural factors, it is nonetheless fruitful to examine women's contributions to art

and culture as distinct from men's. Without regarding women as a single homogenous group, women in the early twentieth century undeniably had vastly different educations, opportunities and social expectations to their male counterparts, as Benstock's series of dichotomies in which woman is defined as an inferior version of man would suggest. In 1898, Charlotte Perkins Gilman provided an incisive critique of the pervading opinion that women did not possess the same 'innate' talent as men: 'it is not that women are really smaller-minded, weaker-minded, more timid and vacillating, but that whosoever, man or woman, lives always in a small, dark place, is always guarded, protected, directed and restrained, will become inevitably narrowed and weakened by it'.[22] The psychological effects of being restricted to these enclosed, domestic spaces is a subject that Mansfield often explores, as discussed in the following chapter. Women's opportunities, especially regarding their potential creative output, were therefore continually circumscribed by the pervasiveness of the cultural narrative that literature and the arts were reserved solely for men. As self-proclaimed intellectual Charles Tansley informs artist Lily Briscoe in Woolf's *To The Lighthouse* (1927), 'women can't paint, women can't write', a statement which reveals one of the reasons behind the comparative lack of women in the arts.[23] Lily is repeatedly told that she and her art are inferior, both directly, as in the above statement, yet also indirectly, as she is forced to base her work on male-established traditions – while there is a canon of 'old masters', the equivalent 'old mistresses' simply do not exist. Although Lily desires to find her own style, her attempts are hesitant, timid forays in opposition to firmly established tradition as she repeats 'but this is what I see; this is what I see' as a mantra.[24] In her essay 'The Gender of Modern/ist Painting' (2007), Diane F. Gillespie points out that the lack of inclusion of women in the artistic canon persists well into the twentieth century. Gillespie discusses a chart on 'Cubism and Abstract Art', created in 1936 by Alfred H. Barr, which catalogued influences on and relationships between various painters. In spite of its failure to include any women artists or non-Eurocentric perspectives, the chart still appears in discussions of modernist art decades later: Gillespie notes that in the 1999 edition of *The Cambridge Companion to Modernism*, the chapter on the visual arts is heavily based on a discussion of this chart, described by author Glen MacLeod as 'still useful'.[25] It therefore seems that it is necessary to shift the paradigm of art and literature in order to include more women, as well as challenging which authors, artists and filmmakers are considered worthy of inclusion in the 'canon' of modernism – a decision that is primarily influenced by middle-class white men.

A seminal definition of literary modernism appears in Harry Levin's 'What Was Modernism?' (1960) as Levin describes a homogenous, cross-disciplinary movement, led by a small group of creative 'giants' and defined by a dedication to 'craftsmanship' and 'uncompromising intellectuality'.[26] Levin suggests that these key figures of modernism were fighting against an 'historical and cultural

impasse', in the words of Bridget Elliot and Jo-Ann Wallace, writing in response to a destruction of 'coherence and "true art"'.[27] While the modernist period was undoubtedly a time of social and political upheaval, bookended by the catastrophe of two world wars, it is important to acknowledge that not all of the change that took place during this time was negative – in the UK, the National Insurance Act was introduced in 1911, providing health insurance for people in employment; women over the ages of 30 gained the right to vote in 1918; and the Sex Disqualification Act was passed in 1919, allowing women to become lawyers and civil servants. Levin's focus on the 'giants' and 'uncompromising intellectuality' of modernist fiction also contradicts modernism's rejection of the grand narrative in favour of small, everyday moments, presenting a version of modernism that is unwelcoming to the marginalised. If modernism is a response to the death of culture and 'true art', we could question exactly whose art and culture is being threatened.

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III. Mansfield and the Visual

This cultural change is apparent in Mansfield's fiction, as she attempts to develop a literary style which reflects how she truly sees the world around her. While studies exist which examine Mansfield's writing in terms of Impressionist art and cinema, as discussed above, none take into account the full scope and history of the visual media that surrounded her, and the reasons why she draws upon them in her writing. Although Mansfield did not survive to write a novel, her biographer Claire Tomalin suggests that this is one of the defining features of her work, stating 'the lack of stamina which prevented her from producing a novel encouraged other virtues: speed, economy, clarity. They became her hallmark, admired and imitated by later writers'.[28] According to Vincent O'Sullivan, this brevity of style is what makes Mansfield's writing so visually rich. In his introduction to *Katherine Mansfield: Selected Letters* (1989), O'Sullivan notes the connection between Mansfield and the visual arts:

> There were occasions when Mansfield spoke of life as being like a cinema, a stream of images passing before one that increased the sense of the surrounding dark. She spoke quite differently of painting, as a fixing of specific values. Her letters as much as her stories extend both ideas.[29]

Mansfield catalogued what she saw with a painterly eye, providing sensual close ups on seemingly everyday objects. In a letter to her husband John Middleton Murry, she vividly describes a bowl of oranges he has sent her as a gift, emphasising that 'theyre not only food for the body – they positively *flash* in my room – a pyramid of them, with, on either side, attending, a jar of the

brightest, biggest vividest marigolds Ive ever seen'.[30] The idea of requiring nourishment for the eyes or the soul as much as for the body attests to the visuality of Mansfield's imagination. This physical and visceral response to the visual is similarly explored in 'Bliss' (1918), as discussed in chapter six, as a bowl of fruit and a table apparently float before Bertha's eyes. Inanimate objects in Mansfield's writing frequently take on a life of their own, with certain words conjuring immersive, cinematic visions: when describing her long-suffering friend Ida Baker's attempts to persuade her to buy anthracite rather than coal, Mansfield writes 'my bed turned into a railway truck, shuffled off to the pithead, and two tons of large anthracite were tumbled on it'.[31] These imaginative transformations not only affected physical objects, but also Mansfield's perception of herself. In a letter to Dorothy Brett, Mansfield creates another mental still life with the remark

> It seems to me so extraordinarily right that you should be painting Still Lives just now. What can one do, faced with this wonderful tumble of round bright fruits, but gather them and play with them – and *become them*, as it were. When I pass the apple stalls I cannot help stopping and staring until I feel that I, myself, am changing into an apple too – and that at any moment I may produce an apple, miraculously, out of my own being like the conjuror produces the egg. […] There follows the moment when you are *more* duck, *more* apple or *more* Natasha than any of these objects could ever possibly be, and so you *create* them anew.[32]

These words are echoed again three years later in a letter to Murry, in which Mansfield concludes 'it isn't as though one sits and watches the spectacle. That would be thrilling enough, God knows. But one IS the spectacle for a time'.[33] This immersive, transformative relationship with one's surroundings is cinematic, as Mansfield's writing allows her to occupy a liminal space in which the boundaries between fantasy and reality – and looking and being – begin to break down. Mansfield goes on to explore this phenomenon of 'becoming the spectacle' in 'Miss Brill' (1920), as explored in detail in chapter four, as her protagonist is visually absorbed into the scene that she observes.

In spite of Mansfield's vivacity and love of performance, she frequently categorised herself as an observer rather than a participant in life, particularly in her later years when her illness limited her physical capabilities and isolated her from her friends. During her many lonely months travelling in Europe, she became a keen observer of the world around her, with her window becoming her cinema screen. In May 1920, she wrote to her friends Sydney and Violet Schiff, proposing that 'one must live alone and work & put away one's passion – ones passion for Life. It must all go into work. Queer – isn't it – how one realises it and yet there persists this longing not to take part in, but to see,

to feel, to absorb, to find out'.[34] The visual nature of Mansfield's imagination is again attested to, as she associates seeing with experience and discovery. According to Tomalin,

> Her life was essentially a lonely one. She travelled too far outside the boundaries of accepted behaviour for her family to feel she was one of them, but she did not find herself at home in any other group, nor did she make a family of her own. The particular stamp of her fiction is also the isolation in which each character dwells. Failure to understand or to be understood is endemic in Mansfield.[35]

Taking her sense of isolation into account, as the 'black sheep' of her family in her childhood, the self-proclaimed 'little colonial' who never truly belonged with the Bloomsbury social elite, and latterly as a traveller with no concrete sense of home, it is easy to see why Mansfield was so fond of the visual arts: they allowed her a glimpse into other times and places, the opportunity to forget her loneliness.

Throughout Mansfield's body of work, isolation is repeatedly linked to the institution of marriage: her characters are either trapped within dysfunctional marriages in which there is little genuine affection or understanding between husband and wife, or they are ostracised due to their unmarried statuses, lacking viable alternative paths in their lives. In an analysis of Mansfield's 'Prelude' (1917), Heather Murray questions whether an 'authentic existence' – in the words of de Beauvoir – is at all possible for a married woman, as their lives become solely defined by the need to provide for others. In 'Prelude', Linda's rejection of this caregiver role leaves her in stasis – she considers abandoning her family, but is ultimately too physically and mentally exhausted to act. Murray argues that

> In the stories of Katherine Mansfield, marriage does not lead to real closeness. Male and female experience life differently because they have differing and conflicting priorities and expectations. Male force dominates the female and controls society; females are restricted to child-oriented activities. Women may question the system, but they do not change it, or imagine a better. They settle for the real benefits of security and status the male provides, and so suffer deep personal divisions and self-loathing. Families eat up women's strength and undermine their health.[36]

In this thesis, I argue that Mansfield turns to the visual as a means of expressing her feminist perspective. For many of Mansfield's characters, their sheltered upbringings have left them without the language they require to 'question the system', as Murray suggests. Laura in 'The Garden Party'

is a clear example of this, as she tentatively begins to question her social privilege and is repeatedly silenced, often through appeals to her physical beauty. Mansfield therefore turns to visual metaphor in her writing in order to focalise the sensations that her characters are unable to express in words, as well as exploring controversial topics in images rather than words in an attempt to maintain ambiguity and avoid censorship. Mansfield's use of the visual in her fiction also allows her readers to see through the eyes of her characters, experiencing at first hand the extent to which their lives are restricted.

According to Susan Gubar, the visual is also particularly associated with the feminine as women have historically used their appearances as a form of currency, with self-objectification often being their only path to power. In order to gain this power however, Gubar suggests, women must transform themselves into a 'sight'. Using the women in George Eliot's novels as an example, Gubar states

> Many female characters squander their creativity on efforts to reconstruct their own images […] Eliot analyses the ways in which women's creativity has been deformed by being channelled into self-destructive narcissism. Eliot criticises the idea that beauty is an index of moral integrity by demonstrating how narcissism infantilizes the female, turning her from an autonomous person into a character in search of an author.[37]

If we ignore the metatextual implications of the concept of 'a character without an author', this description is equally applicable to Mansfield's characters, in particular Beryl in 'Prelude' and 'At the Bay' who visualises encounters between herself and a series of undefined male suitors who exist only to praise and validate her beauty. Mansfield's stories examine female objectification – by both themselves and others – in cinematic terms, as characters are scrutinized, their bodies visually fragmenting as they are denied a sense of personhood. Conversely, the frustration and lack of agency that comes with not being seen is also explored, with women becoming invisible if they step outside the status quo – Miss Brill and the eponymous daughters of the late colonel are ignored and mocked due to their age and unmarried status, while shop-worker Rosabel becomes a living mannequin for her affluent customers. Our culture's fixation with female beauty – or lack of beauty – means that for women writers, physical appearance becomes politically charged. For Mansfield, therefore, a visually conscious writing style allows her to develop a unique literary voice as well as interrogating the pressures faced by women in her society.

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IV. Historical and Theoretical Methodologies

There has been little critical attention given specifically to modernist women writers and visual culture, with Virginia Woolf as the significant exception. Mansfield's writing is undeniably visually rich, yet it has not been examined in terms of visuality in great detail, other than in Maurizio Ascari and Sarah Sandley's works on Mansfield and the cinema, Julia Van Gunsteren's *Katherine Mansfield and Literary Impressionism* (1990) and the essays on Mansfield and art in *Katherine Mansfield Studies* Volume Three (2011). As Mansfield was such a visually conscious writer living during a time of innovation as well as technical and social change, it is clear that this is an important topic to address. In my research for this thesis, I drew upon the works of three critics and cultural historians in particular: Karin Littau, Antonia Lant and Angela Smith. My supervisor Dr Keith Williams's work on the relationship between James Joyce's fiction and pre-cinematic visual technologies also inspired my initial interest in tracing the history of visual media prior to 1895. Mansfield was born in 1888 and likely would not have encountered the cinema until she was sent to school in London in 1903, as discussed in chapter five. It is therefore safe to assume that her interest in visual effects, particularly in her earlier fiction such as the 'Vignettes', was not influenced by the cinema proper but rather its predecessors – the magic lantern, the panorama and other nineteenth century forms of popular entertainment.

In *Cinematicity in Media History* (2013), edited by Littau and Jeffrey Geiger, a series of essays explore the media archaeology of these forgotten forms. Littau's own contribution to the collection is particularly relevant to my discussions of the intermedial relationship between word and image, as well as the reasons why this open, inconclusive style might appeal to turn of the century women writers in particular. In her essay, Littau sets out to interrogate 'the media-transitional period of the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth to ask what difference the cinematograph and its precursor media, such as the magic lantern, zoetrope and phenakistoscope, made to the culture of reading, including its practises and habits'.[38] Littau similarly argues that the term 'cinematic' is not exclusive to the cinema itself, instead referring to 'the conjunction of movement and vision regardless of the medium in which they figure'.[39] This notion is particularly applicable to Mansfield's fiction as she subjectively presents the world through the eyes of her characters, examining the visual distortions that are created by both high-speed motion and physical and mental stress. A visual interpretation of trauma and patriarchal oppression is also explored in Littau's essay through her study of Charlotte Perkins Gilman's 'The Yellow Wall-Paper' (1892). I was struck by the similarities between the potential reasons why Gilman and Mansfield chose to write such visually conscious works, providing a chilling insight into women's lack of freedom and the lack of

understanding of women's mental health. This is articulated both in 'The Yellow Wall-Paper' and 'Prelude' through the animation of everyday objects and a 'displacement of words by images'.[40]

The possible reasons behind the perceived affinity between women and cinematicity is also the subject of Antonia Lant and Ingrid Periz's *Red Velvet Seat* (2006). Lant argues that cinemagoing was the most important way in which women engaged in urban mass culture in the first half of the twentieth century, and her study includes an impressively diverse range of women's writing on the cinema, from the period 1895-1950. Expanding on the work of Ally Acker, who drew attention to the works of women 'pioneers' of early cinema, Lant provides a wealth of evidence to suggest that women were involved in all aspects of the film industry, watching movies and writing critical reflections, as well as taking on the role of actor, producer, editor and director. Lant's collection of works by modernist women writers has proven vital to my argument that for women, cinema initially represented freedom from the male-established 'rules' of older forms of media, acting as a model with which to interrogate difficult subjects – the war, gender roles, the institution of marriage – in images rather than words. The connection between women and cinema was identified by French filmmaker, Alice Guy-Blaché, who directed what was possibly the earliest narrative film, *La Fée aux Choux* (1896). Guy-Blaché suggests that women 'were uniquely suited to photoplay production because they were used to thinking of things, including themselves, in terms of looking at them'.[41]

Lastly, Smith's work on Mansfield in her study *Katherine Mansfield and Virginia Woolf: A Public of Two* (1999) has been invaluable to my thesis, providing critical insight into Mansfield and Woolf's relationship with one another as well as with the media-rich culture in which their writing took place. The structure of *A Public of Two* was influential in my decision to create an interdisciplinary study based on each form of media that informed Mansfield's writing rather than examining her works in chronological order. Smith's chapters on art and cinema were particularly useful: in the former, she examines Mansfield's writing as a form of literary Impressionism, discussing her love of art and her determination to recreate the movement and immediacy of Impressionist painting in words. In particular, Smith cites Mansfield's brief, epiphany-like glimpses into the lives of her characters as Impressionist, suggesting that 'the narrative structure lifts the mist on one person and then drops it, so that the reader glimpses a consciousness and then loses sight of it, it may or may not loom out of the mist again'.[42] Smith's chapter on the cinematicity of modernist women's fiction was also influential to my argument, as Smith points out moments in Mansfield's works which display an awareness of new cinematic editing techniques.

In addition to these three comprehensive studies, I have been able to draw upon a wealth of shorter essays on Mansfield and the arts. The third volume of *Katherine Mansfield Studies* (2011), edited by Delia da Sousa Correa, Gerri Kimber and Susan Reid, has been particularly useful here, especially da Sousa Correa's 'Performativity in Words: Musical Performance in Katherine Mansfield's Stories', Melissa C. Reimer's 'A Literary Impressionist?: Mansfield's Painterly Vignettes' and Young Sun Choi's '"All glittering with broken light": Katherine Mansfield and Impressionism'. These essays provide convincing arguments for the intermedial nature of Mansfield's writing, as she translates her love of art and performance into words, in an 'experimental and piecemeal response to the visual arts'.[43] Da Sousa Correa, Reimer and Choi also discuss the reasons behind this move towards interdisciplinarity, examining modernist fiction in the context of the Great War and changing roles for women, as well as Mansfield's own life and experiences. Ascari's *Cinema and the Imagination in Katherine Mansfield's Writing* (2014) and Sandley's article 'Leaping into the Eyes: Mansfield as a Cinematic Writer' (2011) have also provided a framework for my argument: according to Ascari, 'cinema helped Mansfield achieve a new form pivoting on impersonality and empathy, thus enabling her to render reality with the transparency and intensity she was striving after'.[44] Ascari's focus on silent cinema has been especially relevant to my studies of early cinema and pre-cinematic visual media, while Sandley's reflections on travel as a form of cinematicity informed my chapter on Mansfield's journeys.

Throughout my thesis, I turn to works written by Mansfield's contemporaries, as well as making use of her letters and journals in order to explore her encounters with visual media and compare her characters' experiences to her own. Woolf's essay on 'The Cinema' (1926) has been especially invaluable, providing a contemporary viewpoint on the connection between cinema and spatial and temporal distortion, as well as the cinema's potential to provide abstract, subjective visualisations of emotion. Prominent film critic Iris Barry's reflections on women and cinema have also been a useful resource, particularly her 1924 article in *Vogue* entitled 'The Scope of the Cinema', which draws attention to the transportational qualities of the medium, and her book *Let's Go to the Pictures* (1926), in which she examines visual metaphor in film as well as criticising the cinema's preservation of outdated clichés regarding women's roles. In H. G. Wells's 'The Art of Being Photographed' (1893), he challenges the perceived truth-function of the photograph, exploring the relationship between being seen and authenticity, another concern throughout Mansfield's body of work. Similarities can also be drawn between Mansfield's fiction and Charlotte Perkins Gilman's short story 'The Yellow Wall-Paper': Gilman draws attention to the infantilization women are subjected to by the men in their lives, who are determined to restrict women's freedom of movement and independent thought.

As well as works that focus specifically on Mansfield and visual media, I also briefly examine the theoretical studies of John Berger, Laura Mulvey, Roland Barthes, Wolfgang Schivelbusch and Griselda Pollock. The critical writings of Barthes and Berger have been invaluable to my chapter on photography, as I study the role of the photograph in altering perceptions of truth, as well as its effect on women's self-image. The ways in which seeing contributes to structures of power is also the subject of Mulvey's 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' (1975), and I examine her theory of the male gaze in literary terms with reference to Mansfield's 'The Little Governess' (1915) in chapter six. Pollock similarly discusses the implications of the male gaze in her study *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art* (1988), and I relate her observations regarding women and the spaces they are permitted to inhabit to Mansfield's small, domestic narratives, drawing attention to the 'homology between the compression of pictorial space and the social confinement of women within the prescribed limits of bourgeois codes of femininity'.[45] Finally, Schivelbusch's study on the psychological effect of the railway journey has been useful for my chapter on journeys, supporting my interpretation of high-speed forms of transport as a form of visual entertainment. This thesis focuses on a historical rather than a theoretical reading of Mansfield's short stories, situating them in the context of a visual media archaeology. The studies of the above theorists have nevertheless provided me with a critical framework with which to consider the impact of new forms of visual media on female subjectivity, allowing me to extrapolate the potential effects of this visuality on Mansfield's writing.

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V. A Schema

This thesis will evaluate the relationship between Mansfield's fiction and the visual arts, examining the ways in which Mansfield's visually conscious writing style enhances the feminist messages in her work. In my first chapter, I will explore Mansfield's engagement with art, in particular Impressionist painting, considering the ways in which Mansfield's reactions to the paintings she admired informed the style and structure of her own work. Melissa C. Reimer utilises the term 'literary Impressionism' as a means of describing Mansfield's short stories, and this chapter opens with a discussion of 'Miss Brill' with reference to this, exploring Mansfield's painterly use of light and colour, as well as the visual experience of viewing a crowd in motion.[46] In addition to the style of Impressionist painting, I draw attention to the parallels between Mansfield's writing and Impressionist subject matter, with reference to the spatial dynamics in her work as well as the paintings of Berthe Morisot and Mary Cassatt. Drawing on Griselda Pollock's *Vision and Difference*, I consider the discrepancies between the spaces that male and female Impressionist artists were permitted to enter, as well as the ways in

which Morisot and Cassatt reveal the inequalities inherent in their society in spatial terms. While women are depicted in public spaces in both Mansfield's writing and Impressionist painting, I argue that these women are still not permitted the freedom of their male counterparts, being subject to a controlling gaze that restricts their actions, as explored in 'Frau Brechenmacher Attends a Wedding'. This chapter also examines the visual qualities of urban modernity, again contrasting the works of male and female Impressionist painters in order to interrogate their treatment of working class women as objects to be consumed. Similar qualities are evident in Mansfield's 'The Tiredness of Rosabel', and I discuss this story in terms of Impressionist painting through Rosabel's immersive visions and the ways in which she is observed by the people she encounters.

My second chapter considers the role of photography in Mansfield's body of work, relating the pictorial qualities of her writing to the modern fascination with the snapshot image. In Roland Barthes's *Camera Lucida*, the perceived truth-function of the photographic image is discussed, with Barthes arguing that the concept of photographic truth is a myth, as the act of taking a photograph involves human agency. H. G. Wells similarly suggested that the photograph is unable to represent a subject's 'true self', as posing for a photograph is an act of performance that does not allow for authenticity. I consider Barthes and Wells's arguments in terms of women's experiences, arguing that if the consciousness of the gaze results in a destruction of the authentic self, this is an everyday occurrence for women, who are constantly taught to watch themselves and transform themselves into a 'sight'. My discussion of photographic manipulation considers Victorian spirit photography in terms of Mansfield's fiction, relating the photographic return of the dead to immersive visual memory in 'Six Years After'. The relationship between photography and time is also relevant to Mansfield, and I discuss the temporal distortions and subjective visuals in her work with reference to Muybridge and Marey's photographic studies. Returning to Barthes, I examine the concepts of the photographic 'studium' and 'punctum', as well as the ways in which the photograph appears – and fails to appear – as a fetish object in the short stories. The photograph as fetish object is relevant to Mansfield's own photographic exchanges, as the photograph has the ability to conjure the absent and assert ownership. I argue that photography is also used throughout Mansfield's body of work as a means of challenging dominant ideologies, with the photographs that appear in 'At the Bay' being used to examine class dynamics as well as interrogating the institution of marriage.

In chapter three, I take a different approach to Mansfield's relationship with visual culture, considering the ways in which new high-speed transport technologies impacted on nineteenth century ways of seeing. In Mansfield's fiction, the subjective visual experience of travelling by car, boat or train is often explored, as well as the ways in which the journey acts as a liminal space for her characters, a moment of transition in which they can transcend boundaries. I examine the

cinematicity of the gaze in 'An Indiscreet Journey' and 'The Little Governess', as well as discussing the ways in which the journey influenced nineteenth-century art and entertainment, frequently appearing as the subject of Impressionist paintings and early films. With reference to Wolfgang Schivelbusch's *The Railway Journey*, I consider the ways in which new high-speed forms of transport altered cultural perceptions of time and space, paradoxically expanding the world yet making distant places more accessible. In a comparison of travel narratives by Mansfield, Joyce and Woolf, I consider the impact that these spatial and temporal distortions had on modern thought, allowing characters to simultaneously experience past, present and future in visual terms. Furthermore, this chapter also reveals Mansfield's personal experiences of the journey, relating travel to her sense of rootlessness and exile. In 'Je ne parle pas français' and 'An Indiscreet Journey', these interrogations of authenticity are explored, as travelling removes the characters from the parameters of everyday experience, allowing for self-reflection and a new way of seeing.

While comparisons have been drawn between Mansfield's fiction and the cinema, few take the cinema's precursor media into account. In my fourth chapter, therefore, I provide a history of pre-cinematic visual media, considering the magic lantern, the diorama and other forms of entertainment that Mansfield would have been familiar with in her early years. With reference to Karin Littau's argument that cinematicity is 'the conjunction of movement and vision regardless of the medium in which these figure', I consider the cinematic qualities of the modernist short story, suggesting that the growing popularity of this medium in the nineteenth century presents it as a product of an age of technological innovation.[47] I examine the potential reasons behind Mansfield's affinity with visual culture in my discussion of 'Prelude' and Charlotte Perkins Gilman's 'The Yellow Wall-Paper', suggesting that the innovative visual effects in both of these stories are used in place of an insufficient language, as controversial topics like women's mental health and marriage as a form of entrapment are explored in images rather than words. This use of visual metaphor also appears in narratives in which characters lack the words with which to articulate their emotions, such as 'Vignette: Summer in Winter', which utilises phantasmagoric visual effects as a means of representing both desire and guilt. My close reading of 'A Married Man's Story' expands on this discussion, as well as my comparison between 'Miss Brill' and the theatrical féerie, in which I draw attention to the multimedia qualities of both Mansfield's writing and modern thought.

While chapter four provides an introduction to pre-cinematic media, my fifth chapter focuses specifically on one form of visual entertainment, namely the moving panorama. I argue that Mansfield would have been familiar with the panorama due to its popularity as a form of entertainment in New Zealand in her youth, and with reference to Erkki Huhtamo's concept of the 'discursive panorama', I consider the ways in which the panorama potentially impacted on

Mansfield's imagination.[48] The ubiquity of the virtual voyage as a panorama narrative can be related to the imaginative journeys untaken by characters like Linda Burnell, as she remains static but is able to 'see' scenes from another time and place. Parallels can also be drawn between the educational panorama and 'His Sister's Keeper', as the liminal space of the train journey prompts a telling of a visually immersive cautionary tale. Mansfield's complicated relationship with the country of her birth is also paralleled by the panorama, with panorama shows in New Zealand capitalising on the colonial desire for 'homeland'. A similar interrogation of place appears in Mansfield's 'The Garden Party' and 'In the Botanical Gardens', as the performative nature of colonial life as well as the exploitation of the native Maori people is explored. My comparison between the Maréorama and Mansfield's 'It was neither light not dark in the cabin' relates to my arguments in chapter three regarding the mobilized virtual gaze, as well as providing another opportunity for Mansfield to question women's lack of freedom in visual terms.

My sixth chapter is a study of Mansfield's relationship with the cinema, examining her fiction as a product of twentieth-century advancements in visual culture. The chapter opens with a discussion of women's relationship with early cinema, drawing on various turn-of-the-century accounts of cinemagoing in order to establish the reasons why this new medium may have appealed to women in particular. In addition to women's engagement with the cinema itself, it is also possible to argue that the cinema impacted on women's literature: Mansfield criticised the directness of her male contemporaries, seeking a new form of language that was appropriate to a changed, post-war existence. In order to confront these 'deserts of vast eternity', Mansfield suggests a new style of fiction in which difficult subjects are confronted obliquely through symbolic visuals, anticipating Woolf's argument in her essay 'The Cinema'.[49] Visual representations of difficult subjects appear throughout Mansfield's body of work, from the surreal transformations in 'At the Bay' as Beryl attempts to make sense of her forbidden friendship with Mrs Harry Kember, to the time-lapse-like transformations in 'Leves Amores' and 'Prelude', representing awakening desire and unwanted fertility. Cinematic qualities are also evident in 'The Little Governess', and I provide a close reading of this story with reference to Laura Mulvey's concept of the male gaze in 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema'. The following sections consider the use of windows and mirrors as visual motifs throughout Mansfield's body of work, proposing that the coming of cinema allows for an updated interpretation of Baudelaire's flâneur, with twentieth-century flânerie referring to a viewer who is removed from the crowd, observing life from a static position. This cinematic observation is explored in Mansfield's 'Feuille d'Album', as the protagonist's voyeuristic gaze is cinematically focalized through the screen-like window. Mirrors in Mansfield's work fulfil a similarly screen-like role, providing an uncanny disconnection between self and Other. The negative consequences of society's

fixation on female beauty are illustrated through this mirror metaphor, as characters' encounters with their mirror images lead to revelations of unwanted truths.

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[2] Laura Marcus, *The Tenth Muse: Writing About Cinema in the Modernist Period* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p.100.
[3] Joseph Conrad, *A Conrad Argosy* (London: Doubleday, 1942), p.83.
[4] Honoré de Balzac, untitled 1840 review of Stendhal's *The Charterhouse of Parma*, qtd. in Alan Spiegel, *Fiction and the Camera Eye: Visual Consciousness in Film and the Modern Novel* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976), p.5.
[5] Gustave Flaubert, *The Selected Letters of Gustave Flaubert*, ed. and trans. Francis Steegmuller (New York: Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, 1953), p.138.
[6] Wendy Steiner, *The Colors of Rhetoric: Problems in the Relation Between Modern Literature and Painting* (London: Chicago University Press, 1982), p.4.
[7] Jan Mukařovský, 'Between Literature and the Visual Arts', in *The Word and Verbal Art: Selected Essays by Jan Mukařovský*, ed. and trans. John Burbank and Peter Steiner (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), p.213.
[8] Keith Cohen, *Film and Fiction: The Dynamics of Exchange* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), p.ix.
[9] Ibid., p.3.
[10] David Trotter, *Cinema and Modernism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), p.3.
[11] Virginia Woolf, 'Modern Fiction', in *Virginia Woolf: Selected Essays*, ed. David Bradshaw (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp.6-12, (p.9).
[12] Dorothy Richardson, 'Pictures and Films', in *Close Up 1927-1933: Cinema and Modernism*, eds James Donald, Anne Friedberg and Laura Marcus (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp.186-89, (p.188).
[13] Trotter, p.3.
[14] James Joyce, *Ulysses* (Ware: Wordsworth Editions, 2010), p.44.
[15] Katherine Mansfield, 'The Garden Party', in *The Collected Fiction of Katherine Mansfield*, Vol. II, eds Gerri Kimber and Vincent O'Sullivan (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), pp.401-14, (p.401).
[16] Spiegel, p.17.
[17] Ibid., p.6.
[18] Ibid., p.20.
[19] Ibid., p.25.
[20] Shari Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank: Paris 1900-1940* (London: Virago, 1986), p.7.
[21] Ibid., p.7.
[22] Charlotte Perkins Gilman, *Women and Economics* (New York: Dover Publications, 2003), p.103.
[23] Virginia Woolf, *To The Lighthouse* (Ware: Wordsworth Editions, 1994), p.35.
[24] Ibid., p.14.
[25] Glen MacLeod, 'The Visual Arts', in *The Cambridge Companion to Modernism*, ed. Michael Levenson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp.194-216, (pp.195-96), qtd. in Diane F. Gillespie, 'The Gender of Modern/ist Painting, in *Gender in Modernism: New Geographies, Complex Intersections*, ed. Bonnie Kime Scott (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007), pp.765-78, (p.766).
[26] Harry Levin, 'What Was Modernism?', in *The Massachusetts Review*, Vol. I, No. IV (Summer 1960), pp. 609-630, (pp.626-28).
[27] Bridget Elliot and Jo-Ann Wallace, *Women Artists and Writers: Modernist (Im)Positionings* (London: Routledge, 1994), p.6.
[28] Claire Tomalin, *Katherine Mansfield: A Secret Life* (London: Penguin, 1987), p.162.

[29] Vincent O'Sullivan, 'Introduction', in *Katherine Mansfield: Selected Letters*, ed. Vincent O'Sullivan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p.ix.
[30] Katherine Mansfield, *Katherine Mansfield: Selected Letters*, p.102.
[31] Ibid., p.115.
[32] Ibid., p.59.
[33] Ibid., p.184.
[34] Ibid., p.173-4.
[35] Tomalin, p.6.
[36] Heather Murray, *Double Lives: Women in the Stories of Katherine Mansfield* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 1990), p.52.
[37] Susan Gubar, '"The Blank Page" and the Issues of Female Creativity', in *The New Feminist Criticism: Essays on Women, Literature and Theory*, ed. Elaine Showalter (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985), pp.292-313, (p.297).
[38] Karin Littau, 'Reading in the Age of Edison: The Cinematicity of "The Yellow Wall-Paper"' in *Cinematicity in Media History*, eds Jeffrey Geiger and Karin Littau (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), pp.67-87, (p.67).
[39] Ibid., p.68.
[40] Ibid., p.81.
[41] Alice Guy-Blaché, 'Women's Place in Photoplay Production', *Moving Picture World*, 11 July 1914, p.195.
[42] Angela Smith, *Katherine Mansfield and Virginia Woolf: A Public of Two* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), p.167.
[43] Melissa C. Reimer, 'A Literary Impressionist?: Mansfield's Painterly Vignettes', in *Katherine Mansfield Studies,* Vol. III, eds Delia da Sousa Correa, Gerri Kimber and Susan Reid (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), pp.35-50, (p.44).
[44] Maurizio Ascari, *Cinema and the Imagination in Katherine Mansfield's Writing*, (London: Palgrave, 2014), p.5.
[45] Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art* (London: Routledge, 1988), p.63.
[46] Reimer, p.35.
[47] Littau, p.68.
[48] Erkki Huhtamo, *Illusions in Motion: Media Archaeology of the Moving Panorama and Related Spectacles* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012), p.15.
[49] Katherine Mansfield, *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, Vol. III, eds Vincent O'Sullivan and Margaret Scott (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp.97-98.

Chapter 1: 'Here is painting, and here is life': Mansfield and Art

The relationship between art and literature has a long history, with possibly the oldest comparison of the two being the comment attributed by Plutarch to Simonides of Ceos that 'painting is mute poetry and poetry a speaking picture'.[1] Wendy Steiner proposes that this attempt to break down the barriers between art forms is a means of destroying the limitations of art's traditional modes of signification. The idea of a 'speaking picture' relates to the human desire to mimic reality through an invocation of all of the sense, or in Derridean terms, the desire to create a sign with 'voice' or 'presence'.[2] Interartistic studies were similarly popular during the baroque and neoclassical periods, with Horace's theory '*ut pictura poesis*' – the Latin for 'as is painting, so is poetry' – claiming an affinity between word and image and suggesting that the function of poetry was to evoke visions in a reader's mind's eye.[3] Due to Platonic notions of the connections between seeing and knowing, the visual was considered to be the purest form of art, which is attested to by David Hume's comment that if human beings are 'a collection of different perceptions, which succeed each other with an inconceivable rapidity, and are in a perpetual flux and movement, then there appears to be nothing to the self other than the impressions that compose it'.[4] Hume's argument predates Impressionism by over a hundred years, yet his words nonetheless invoke the visual consciousness of modernist art, reflecting the Impressionists' goal of presenting subjective interpretations of a world in motion. The visual impact of new transport technologies is also anticipated, with the advent of rail travel in the nineteenth century changing how the world was perceived.

This focus on impressions was also a source of fascination for modernist writers: Henry James described the novel as a 'direct impression of life',[5] while Virginia Woolf called for writers to consider the 'myriad impressions' the mind receives.[6] In addition to these visual reinterpretations of the written word, Angela Smith suggests that the painterly aspirations of modernist literature are also apparent in the structure of fiction during this time, with works like Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1899) and James Joyce's significantly named *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916) self-consciously drawing attention to their status as narratives within a frame.[7] The potential reasons behind this fixation with the visual in modernist fiction are diverse. Spiegel proposes that the visual consciousness of modernist fiction is the result of the movement from a theological to a scientific understanding of the world, as mentioned above, while other critics argue for the impact of the Great War leading to the search for new modes of representation. In particular, writers in the late nineteenth century turned to the visual arts for inspiration, moving towards a new focus on sensation and the attempt to capture the perceived essence of an object rather than describing it in minute detail. The Bloomsbury set in particular drew on Impressionist painting as a creative source, with Roger Fry suggesting that subjective impressions have more life and meaning than

straightforward representations. In Fry's famous essay collection, *Vision and Design* (1920), he claims that Impressionist painters 'do not seek to imitate form, but to create form; not to imitate life, but to find an equivalent for life […] In fact, they aim not at illusion but at reality'.[8] In this case, Fry's 'reality' does not present the paintings as realistic, photographic representations, but rather he praises their ability to create an equivalency for the impact made on perception by people and objects in the world, as Smith points out.[9]

Fig. 1: *Portrait of Katherine Mansfield*

Fig. 2: *Sunflowers*

Mansfield interpreted artworks in a strikingly similar way, mentioning in a letter to Ottoline Morrell that 'I am absolutely uneducated about painting. I can only look at it as a writer but it seems to me the real thing. It's what one is aiming at'.[10] Mansfield considered the visual arts to be a truer form of representation than writing, and this directness is something she strives towards in her fiction, attempting to translate the physical sensations of seeing and being into words. She also favoured visual representations in terms of character, describing a figure in a painting by Cézanne as 'the *spit* of a man Ive just written about […] I wish I could cut him out & put him in my book', suggesting a multimedia approach to word and image that anticipates modernist experiments with collage.[11] Despite her assertion that she is 'absolutely uneducated about painting', Mansfield had close relationships with several experimental artists, including the illustrator for *Rhythm* magazine Anne Estelle Rice, who painted Mansfield's most well-known portrait (fig. 1), as well as J.D. Fergusson, a major artist of the Scottish Colourists group. Fergusson and Rice both spent time in Paris where Mansfield visited them in 1912, a time of both artistic innovation and political unrest in the city. Far

from the restrictiveness of British life, which even in the comparatively liberal early twentieth century suffered from the lasting influence of Victorian values, artists were able to experiment with both form and theme, drawing on the infectious atmosphere of the newness that surrounded them: it was here that many modernist art movements – Post-Impressionism, Fauvism, Cubism – had their birth, and Mansfield and her contemporaries were at the heart of these moments in art history. In an initial reflection on Parisian life from 1907, Fergusson describes the radicalism of the period, explaining that 'Something new had started and I was very much intrigued. But there was no language for it that made sense in Edinburgh or London; an expression like, "the logic of line" meant something in Paris that it couldn't mean in Edinburgh'.[12] Fergusson's statement suggests that experimentation in the visual arts led to a lack of sufficient words – at least in the English language – with which to express these new forms. The ability to explore these concepts in words was the level of innovation that Mansfield strove for in her writing: in response to viewing Van Gogh's *Sunflowers* she notes that 'they taught me something about writing, which was queer – a kind of freedom – or rather, a shaking free […] I can *smell* them as I write' (fig. 2).[13]

Mansfield saw Van Gogh's work, as well as paintings by Cézanne, Morisot, Degas and Manet, at Fry's seminal Post-Impressionist art exhibitions in 1910 and 1912. It is also likely that she attended London's first exhibition of Impressionist art in January 1905, as this was displayed in the Grafton Gallery, a location Mansfield and her classmates often visited on excursions due to its closeness to Queen's College. In a concise overview of Mansfield's writing style, Melissa C. Reimer suggests the ways in which Mansfield's work parallels Impressionist painting:

> Among the ways in which Mansfield aligned herself with Impressionism is her use of everyday subject matter and privileging of modernity, her focus on small, seemingly insignificant details at the expense of comprehensive description, her preference for the vignette which provides the reader with only fleeting glimpses of people and places, and her preoccupation with colour and her emphasis on surfaces and reflections.[14]

While stylistically Mansfield's work reflects Impressionist painting through its subjectivity and fragmentation, it is also necessary to consider the reasons behind her affinity with the visual arts that extend beyond the aesthetic. Mansfield's writing shares similar philosophical concerns with Impressionist painting, as the nineteenth-century faith in objective or universal truth became replaced by a new understanding of perception as subjective; always 'mediated through sensory experience at a particular time and space', as Young Sun Choi suggests.[15] In addition to the sensory, knowledge and interpretation depend on many other factors: firstly, the realisation that anyone engaged in the act of seeing is first and foremost an individual, interpreting the world through the

lens of his or her own preconceptions. Furthermore, social, political and environmental factors are always present when capturing a moment, ensuring that each moment is an intimate and individual experience. Mansfield's development of this subjective style can also be read in feminist terms, as she rejects male-established literary conventions and attempts to present the world – and its many restrictions – through the eyes of her female characters.

Mansfield's 'literary Impressionism' as described by Reimer appears in a variety of the short stories, particularly 'Miss Brill', in which colour, light and sound combine in an intermedial celebration of the arts. This chapter opens with an analysis of 'Miss Brill' in terms of its painterly qualities, as well as considering potential reasons behind the popularity of the snapshot image in both Impressionist painting and Mansfield's work. This close reading leads on to a reflection on critical responses to modern art and literature, connecting the short story – a form perceived as 'slight' and 'feminine' – to the initial dismissal of Impressionism. In the second section, I examine the relationship between gender and space, applying Pollock's arguments in *Vision and Difference* to Mansfield's interrogation of the domestic. Through a comparison between the paintings of Mary Cassatt and Berthe Morisot and the fiction of Mansfield, Woolf and Richardson, I argue that space has different social and political significance in women's art and literature. This examination of spatial dynamics continues in section three, which discusses objectification and the male gaze, contrasting public and private space. Finally, the chapter concludes with a study of the effects of urbanisation on the visual, as I trace the rise of consumer culture in nineteenth-century Paris. Through a discussion of Mansfield's 'The Tiredness of Rosabel' and various artistic depictions of the millinery shop, I argue that consumer culture is used as a means of objectifying working-class women. At the other end of the social spectrum, the popularity of the theatre as a subject in Impressionist artworks reveals that women in the public sphere are similarly interrogated, their presence in a non-domestic space being called into question. It is possible to note a variety of similarities between Mansfield's fiction and Impressionist painting, both in terms of style and subject matter, which suggests that both Mansfield and the Impressionists – in particular Impressionist women like Morisot and Cassatt – were in pursuit of a common goal, revealing the power dynamics of the visual.

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I. Intermedial Impressions in 'Miss Brill'

Mansfield's impressionistic focus on female subjectivity is evident in her short story 'Miss Brill' (1920). The narrative follows ageing spinster Miss Brill as she takes her weekly excursion to the park to listen to the band and watch passers-by, and Mansfield's painterly use of light and colour is revealed in the opening sentence: 'Although it was so brilliantly fine – the blue sky powdered with

gold and great spots of light like white wine splashed over the Jardins Publiques – Miss Brill was glad she had decided on her fur'.[16] This interspersing of beautiful and vividly immersive visuals with intradiegetic insights into the pattern of Miss Brill's thoughts recurs throughout the narrative, presenting Miss Brill as a romantic dreamer who is trapped by everyday practicalities and the stifling influence of society's expectations. The description of the 'great spots of light' in the opening passage also introduces the narrative's theme of theatricality, while the haphazard placement of these natural spotlights also relates to *en plein air* Impressionist painting, in which light was presented as it fell rather than being manipulated to create a staged composition.

Similar visual spectacles are foregrounded in the following sequence of the narrative as the people Miss Brill watches are described largely in terms of colour, enhancing the impression that they are characters in a painting: children are festooned with white lace, nuns are solemnly pale, a group of 'young girls in red' pair off with 'young soldiers in blue'[17] as if they are taking part in a dance. The backdrop to this lively scene appears similarly staged, composed of 'slender trees with yellow leaves down drooping, and through them just a line of sea, and beyond the blue sky with gold-veined clouds'.[18] The combination of this attention to light and colour with the focus on the movement of the crowds contributes to the interpretation of the narrative as a form of literary Impressionism, recreating this visual art style in words. The background is described in terms of layers of colour, with the syntax of 'down drooping' acting as a particularly poetic evocation of the movement of the leaves, while the people in the foreground are picked out as single-coloured figures travelling by Miss Brill's point of view. This nuanced visual development of a scene was possibly inspired by paintings like Renoir's famous *Dance at Le Moulin de la Galette* (1876), which presents a similar

Fig. 3: *Dance at Le Moulin de la Galette*

outdoor scene with dancers and dappled light, with the eye being drawn to the splashes of white and bright primary colours that stand out from the grey and dark blue masses of the crowd (fig. 3). As in 'Miss Brill', the subjects of the painting are defined as blurs of colour in motion: the viewer is presented with a paradoxical setting down on the canvas of a moment in flux. Mansfield's painterly focus on movement and colour also invites a comparison with Manet's *Music in the Tuileries Gardens* (1862), which, much like 'Miss Brill', depicts a group of people of various ages, sexes and backgrounds attending an open-air concert (fig. 4). The composition of the painting features seated, passive women and active men. A similar visual division is evident in 'Miss Brill,' but with characters segregated along age as well as gender lines, with the young and beautiful dominating the scene.

Fig. 4: *Music in the Tuileries Gardens*

Manet's style is also comparable to Mansfield's in his attempts to create snapshot-like images of a scene, capturing an essence or impression of a character rather than painting a detailed portrait. The staticity of previous schools of painting is replaced by a modern focus on movement, which according to Ben Pollitt is inspired by the increasing popularity of photography, a technology which favoured capturing fleeting moments and the mundane over beautiful yet staged vistas. Pollitt suggests that 'Baudelaire's painter of modern life should capture, with just a few brush strokes, the carriage, expression and gesture of an individual, suggesting that to do so he would have to work at speed, mastering a sort of visual short-hand, simplifying forms to something not unlike caricature.'[19] This same economy of style is present in Mansfield's writing, particularly through her description of the old people who, in their strangeness, are presented as caricatures of senility. The idea of a 'visual

short-hand' is similarly relevant, with Miss Brill's impressions of the passers-by focusing on one noticeable detail, normally a flash of colour: the children's 'big white silk bows,' the 'young girls in red' who link arms with 'young soldiers in blue,' a beautiful woman's bunch of violets cascading to the floor.[20] Choi notes a similar visual effect in Mansfield's later short story 'Bank Holiday', as the narrative's 'stylistic reductions' mean that characters are described only in terms of the first impression of them that arrests the eye, much as Impressionists would paint crowd scenes.[21] As well as colours, the movements rather than appearances of the people in the park are focused on, just as Manet implies movement in his painting by depicting certain figures as abstract blurs. Returning to Pollitt, 'Manet, it seems, attempted to capture or rather reconstruct not simply a crowd but the optical experience of looking at a crowd.'[22] As well as creating a realistic reconstruction of the visual process, Manet's painting also questions spectacle and observation through his insertion of himself into the picture – as the second figure from the left in the foreground – in the role of flâneur. While Manet and Miss Brill see themselves as flâneurs, observing and being absorbed into the flux of modern life, the ending of Mansfield's narrative again points out that flânerie is a gendered phenomenon. If the flâneur is by definition both within and an observer of modern life, Miss Brill discovers that she is truly neither: she is not free to roam as she is considered ugly and worthless by those around her, only fit to be shut away out of sight.

In their desire to present only a fleeting glimpse of a scene, the Impressionists eschewed the static, staged compositions of their predecessors, using seemingly random framing to suggest a snapshot-like moment, and open, discontinuous brushwork to leave images open to interpretation. This new inconclusive style parallels the changes that were taking place in fiction in the early twentieth century, as modernist writers began to reject the sweeping, moralising generalisations of the classic novel in favour of more realistic and ambiguous narratives. A literary equivalent of both the snapshot moment and open brushwork can be found in 'Miss Brill'. On the surface, the narrative appears simple: an old woman takes an outing to the park, watches people pass by, overhears a young couple insulting her and sadly returns home. However, in spite of this deceptively slight structure, Mansfield leaves 'Miss Brill' open to a variety of readings, with the intermedial qualities of the narrative enhancing its social, political and feminist message. As well as providing a masterful social critique, 'Miss Brill' is also significant due to its experimental qualities, as Mansfield uses colour, sound and motion as narrative devices. Mansfield's experiments in the narrative have striking similarities to the experiments carried out by the Impressionists: Cohen addresses a question at the heart of Impressionist painting, stating

> Relativity of point of view led the impressionists to pose some fundamental questions of motion. If all appeared to be in a state of permanent flux, as the analysis of light

> revealed, then how, in the purely spatial art of painting, could this motion be arrested yet implied as a continuing process just the same? […] Leading photographic experiments and harbingers of the cinema, Muybridge and Marey, were revealing some of the secrets of motion for the first time, but could such perceptions be transposed to the painter's medium?'[23]

Mansfield attempts to answer similar questions in her fiction, exploring how movement can be captured through the medium of words. In 'The Little Governess' (1915) and 'An Indiscreet Journey' (1915), she recreates a subjective impression of high-speed travel, while in stories like 'Prelude' (1917) and 'At the Bay' (1921) she shifts between multiple points of view, exploring how the world is viewed differently at different stages of life, creating an accelerated form of movement across generations. Mansfield's fascination with movement can also be read in her ability to capture a character or scene in just a few words, providing a literary parallel to the speedy sketches of Impressionists like Toulouse-Lautrec, who experimented with capturing motion in only a few lines. Cohen suggests that an Impressionist artist must 'select and seize on that fraction of a duration that contained within it the suggestion of the movement as a whole'.[24] This is highly evocative of Mansfield's narrative technique in 'Miss Brill', as she builds the scene around her protagonist in a series of rapid 'brushstrokes', with characters being picked out in terms of one distinct visual detail.

A further parallel between Impressionist painting and modernist fiction is the generally negative reaction that both movements faced when initially introduced to the public. Cohen points out that prior to the rise of Impressionism, viewers would have been only familiar with classical or academic artworks, making it difficult for them to interpret this new form. In order to 'engage in the dynamic process of exchange being offered', therefore, the spectator must 'adapt his vision to the new code'.[25] This break with traditional ways of seeing and interpreting art was also a challenge faced by readers in the early twentieth century, as fiction became increasingly fragmented and experimental. Mansfield's work in particular was initially castigated by critics, with T. S. Eliot referring to it as 'slight', and '*minimum* material', dismissing her writing style as 'what I believe would be called feminine'.[26] Clare Hanson connects this criticism of Mansfield's works to more general opinions on the short story, which, much like Impressionist painting, was considered to lack the value and literary merit of other more established forms, such as poetry and the novel. Hanson suggests that this dismissal was potentially due to the short story's association with female authors, with authors like Mansfield, Kate Chopin and Mary Lavin making their reputation as short story writers. A possible reason for the popularity of this fictional form among women could be due to its structural connections to women's lives and experiences: according to Hanson, 'the short story is a form of exclusion and implication; its technical workings mirror its ideological basis, its tendency towards the

expression of that which is marginal or ex-centric to society'.[27] It can be argued that this focus on the marginal actually has higher artistic value, both in painting and literature, as it draws attention to unique perspectives that are removed from the white, masculine, upper-class cultural centre. Furthermore, Mansfield's snapshot-like style can be read as an accurate reflection of the zeitgeist of the early twentieth century: Choi remarks, 'not only is her writing vibrant with light, colour and optical sensations but it also established the short story, her hallmark genre, as the most appropriate mode for the Impressionist record of transience, speed and mutability, the defining qualities of urban modernity'.[28]

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II. 'Retained for the interior': Gendered Spatial Dynamics in Impressionist Painting and Mansfield's Short Stories

In addition to these gendered practises in modernist fiction, a similar male/female divide can also be traced in the visual arts in the late nineteenth century. In *Vision and Difference*, a study which aims to reinterpret the traditional view of women artists' place in the canon of art history, Griselda Pollock argues that both contemporary audiences and creators of works of art were affected by this binary. According to Pollock, most of the canonical works that are cited as the 'founding moments' of modern art depict a sensual male gaze on a woman, often in settings associated with secrecy and vice: private rooms, bars, brothels. The encounters pictured in these paintings are between upper class men who have the freedom to take their pleasure in many urban spaces, and lower class, working women, resulting in both a gender and power imbalance.[29] This imbalance is often visually emphasised through use of selective nudity, as partially or fully naked women appear alongside well-dressed, fully clad men: the enduring fame of Manet's *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* (1862-63) attests to the popularity of this type of scene. As well as enforcing harmful patriarchal stereotypes presenting women's role as passive object for the pleasure of men, such paintings are problematic as they exclude female viewers, featuring spaces which many women would not have had the freedom to access and thus alienating them from the impressionist goal to represent sensation and everyday, lived experience. Referring to Manet's *Olympia* (1863) and *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* (1882), which respectively feature a scene in the chamber of a prostitute and a scene in a famous Parisian nightclub, Pollock asks 'would a woman of Manet's class have a familiarity with either of these spaces and its exchanges which could be evoked so that the painting's modernist job of negation and disruption could be effective? Could Berthe Morisot have gone to such a location to canvass the subject? […] Could she as a woman experience modernity at all?'[30]

Pollock's reference to Morisot connects the question of female viewership to that of female creation, as the women artists of the Impressionist period would have experienced a similar sense of alienation from these artistic conventions. The social, economic and subjective asymmetry between being a man and a woman in late nineteenth-century Paris determined both what and how women painted, as well as the ways in which their work was judged by – invariably male – critics. The lack of freedom afforded to bourgeois women during this period meant that the spaces with which women artists were familiar and in which they were free to create were predominantly domestic, with the works of artists like Morisot, Mary Cassatt and Eva Gonzalès featuring scenes in drawing rooms, sewing rooms, terraces, balconies and private gardens. This focus on the domestic is directly comparable to Mansfield's fiction, as her short stories almost exclusively present glimpses into small, everyday moments in women's lives, taking place either within the confines of the home or examining the social hurdles women are forced to negotiate when moving outside of this sphere into public space: often a punishable transgression, as in the case of Miss Brill or the little governess. The consequence of this exploration of the domestic in both painting and literature is that the works of creative women are traditionally dismissed and considered unworthy of display or canonisation, featuring subjects that are not judged to be as important, innovative or risqué as those of their male counterparts.

However, late twentieth and early twenty-first century feminist approaches to art history seek to address this imbalance, examining the works of women artists from a new perspective. Pollock suggests that a common feature of Impressionist paintings created by women is their similar treatments of space, with space taking on a unique quality that is rarely evident in paintings by men. The fragmentation and distortion of traditional spatial structures is characteristic of all Impressionist paintings, as artists explored flatness and perspective, unusual angles of vision, and unconventional framing. This experimentation is frequently interpreted as a response to the rise of photography, as painters sought to emulate a seemingly carelessly framed, unstaged snapshot image. Cohen also postulates that this rejection of a scenographic conception of space was inspired by the non-Euclidean juxtaposition of unrelated fragments of space in Japanese art, resulting in paintings like Degas' *Place de la Concorde* (1875), in which the central figures seem arbitrarily placed in a field of dead space, with characters blocking one another and being cut off by the confines of the frame.[31] However, as Pollock points out, spatial dynamics in paintings by woman Impressionists often create a different effect. In her examination of the works of Morisot, Pollock recognises a characteristic juxtaposition of two spatial systems, with paintings featuring two distinct spaces boundaried by a framing device, such as a balcony, railing, veranda or embankment, creating a sense of division or fracture.[32] In Morisot's *On the Terrace* (1874), the female subject is compressed in a box of space

and forced off-centre, separated from the outside world by the oppressively dark, solid wall of the balcony (fig. 5). Similarly, in *Woman and Child On the Balcony* (1872), Morisot presents a mother and child restricted by cage-like bars, with their placement in the frame also blocking the viewer's access to the city scene beyond (fig. 6). Pollock contrasts this effect to the works of male Impressionists, suggesting that there is often no obvious viewpoint in their paintings, instead giving the viewer the impression that he or she is freely floating over a scene. It is therefore possible to conclude that 'what Morisot's balustrades demarcate is not the boundary between public and private but between the spaces of masculinity and of femininity inscribed at the level of both what spaces are open to men and women and what relation a man or woman has to that space and its occupants'.[33]

Fig. 5: *On the Terrace*

Fig. 6: *Mother and Child on the Balcony*

In Cassatt's paintings, a similar device of compression is used, as many of her works bring the viewer into intimately close contact with a figure, although instead of allowing for the usual familiarity afforded by such a close-up, Cassatt's subjects are often presented facing away from the viewer, gazing at an unknown person or object out of frame, as in her *Portrait of the Artist* (1878) (fig. 7), or intent on a different task, as in *Reading 'Le Figaro'* (1878) (fig. 8). It is possible to interpret this denial of the viewer's gaze as a message of empowerment, as Cassatt presents her subjects as rejecting their roles as static figures existing only to be admired, suggesting they have life outside of the confines of the frame. However, the narrowness of the muted, interior spaces in which they are presented emphasises that, like Morisot's subjects, these women remain confined in the domestic sphere. The frequency with which Cassatt paints scenes featuring mother and child further enhances this impression of women's lives being tied to the socially accepted roles of wife, mother and homemaker.

Similar visual metaphors of space appear across modernist fiction written by women, particularly in the case of Mansfield, whose short stories often take place in the sites of these boundaries. Mansfield explores the divide between public and private space through her repeated motifs of windows and mirrors, allowing her female characters frustratingly intangible glimpses of a different life, as discussed in chapter six. However, the short story that perhaps most explicitly presents a distinction between 'male' and 'female' spaces is 'Frau Brechenmacher Attends a Wedding' (1910), one of Mansfield's earlier works that first appeared in her *In a German Pension* collection. Like many of Mansfield's works, the titular character is a woman living under the tyranny of a threatening male

Fig. 7: *Portrait of the Artist*

Fig. 8: *Reading 'Le Figaro'*

authority figure, and her lack of freedom to move outside of the domestic sphere in which she is confined is emphasised by repeated references to dark, close spaces throughout the narrative. After her husband complains that 'there isn't room to turn'[34] as they prepare for the evening's festivities, Frau Brechenmacher is banished to the narrow, darkened hallway to dress, resulting in her later embarrassment when she arrives at the wedding with her skirt unfastened and petticoat showing. Mansfield also stresses her protagonist's confinement when she sets off for her evening out, feeling 'muddled and stupid' after not having left the house 'for weeks past'.[35] Although the occasion of the wedding allows Frau Brechenmacher temporary admittance into the traditionally male sphere of public, social space, she and the other women are still denied the freedom of the men, sitting 'wedged' into a corner while their husbands celebrate. Marriage in the story is presented as a prison sentence: Frau Brechenmacher wistfully remembers a life before 'her five babies and her man'[36], Frau Rupp regards her three mourning rings 'with intense enjoyment'[37], the bride Theresa screams and recoils from the vision of her future that Herr Brechenmacher presents to her as he hands her a coffee pot containing a baby's bottle and toy cradles. As the narrative closes with Frau

Brechenmacher remembering her own wedding night and reflexively casting an arm across her face as protection from her violent, animalistic husband, an image is created of the cyclical nature of women's entrapment and suffering, with Theresa acting as Frau Brechenmacher's younger counterpart. It is suggested that Frau Brechenmacher's daughter Rosa is also being raised for a similar role, as she is left to care for the house and her younger siblings while her parents go out, with Frau Brechenmacher symbolically draping her with her homely black shawl. Already Rosa is taught to respect and fear male authority, with her mother using the threat 'here comes the father'[38] to make her behave, with the words 'the father' instead of 'your father' allowing Herr Brechenmacher to take on almost an allegorical role as a god-like figure to whom the two women must defer. Frau Brechenmacher's warning that Rosa should 'not touch the lamp – you know what will happen if you do'[39] also potentially takes on sinister connotations following the subsequent reveal of Herr Brechenmacher's violent nature. Morisot's depiction of mother and daughter in her painting *Woman and Child on the Balcony* is recalled, as like her mother, Rosa has been born into a world in which she too must remain behind the bars of domesticity, gazing onto a city which she will be unable to fully explore and experience due to her sex. Similar visual evocations of space also appear in the fiction of Woolf and Richardson: in Woolf's *Mrs Dalloway* (1925), Clarissa Dalloway feels cast aside from society due to her age and her fear that she has failed as a wife and mother, imagining ascending to her 'cloistered room'[40] to be shut out of sight, while in the 'Backwater' episode of *Pilgrimage* (1916), Miriam's impression of being trapped in her new school is suggested as her gaze pans around her surroundings, searching for a way out: 'Miriam's eye went up from her book to the little slope of grass showing above the concrete wall of the area […] In the mist the area railings stood hard and solid against the edge of empty space'.[41]

As these examples suggest, this compartmentalization of public and private space was not unique to the nineteenth-century France that Morisot and Cassatt illustrate, with the social construct of gendered space persisting in twentieth-century society in France, Germany and the United Kingdom. While the twentieth-century settings of both *Mrs Dalloway* and *Pilgrimage* mean that the female protagonists of these novels have greater freedom to enter the public sphere than characters like Frau Brechenmacher, they still experience a level of exclusion from these spaces. In the first three volumes of *Pilgrimage*, Miriam drifts between all-female institutions, ending up in a domestic role in her job as governess, and Clarissa Dalloway is denied access to the political circles in which her husband and his companions move: while they are admitted into her domestic realm for her parties, it is never considered that she be invited to social events at parliament. This gendering of space in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was rarely questioned, with the polarization of men's and women's social roles being considered a natural phenomenon resulting from a biological

difference between the sexes. As French politician Jules Simon stated in 1892, 'What is man's vocation? It is to be a good citizen. And woman's? To be a good wife and a good mother. One is in some way called to the outside world, the other is retained for the interior'.[42] The notion that men are 'called to the outside world' comes with dangerous implications, normalising the role of man as decision maker, thinker and provider, an expectation which is damaging to both women, as their options are narrowly circumscribed, and men, as any who do not fit into this role are treated as social outcasts. Returning to the example of *Mrs Dalloway*, the judgemental attitudes of both male and female characters towards Septimus illustrate the pressure placed on men to hide their emotions, as Septimus is shamed for being unable to provide for his wife after returning from the war with post-traumatic stress disorder. Simon's belief that the role of women is to be 'retained for the interior' shares similarly negative implications, with the word 'retained' suggesting an active imprisonment of women, as social convention forbids them from moving into spaces in which they can attain a voice, education and financial independence.

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III. Public Space, The Gaze and Female Subjectivity

Returning to Impressionist painting, it is possible to find examples of women venturing into public spaces in the works of Cassatt and Morisot, contradicting Pollock's argument that these spaces are entirely the domain of male artists and subjects. However, in these paintings, a discrepancy between the ways in which female subjects are depicted in public and private spaces can be noted, suggesting an enduring sense of uneasiness, alienation and risk that is associated with stepping out of the domestic sphere. This contrast is evident through a comparison of Cassatt's *The Loge* (1882) (fig. 9) and Morisot's *The Mother and Sister of the Artist* (1869-70) (fig. 10). Both paintings feature two women as central figures, with *The Loge* presenting a pair of young ladies on an outing to the theatre, and *The Mother and Sister of the Artist* depicting an older woman reading to her daughter in a private domestic space. The uneasy attitude of the former two women is suggested by the stiffness of their poses: the young woman in the foreground appears to be concentrating on maintaining a neutral expression, clutching a bouquet of flowers with shoulders tensely squared. Her companion seems similarly nervous, partially hiding her face behind a fan and crossing her arms defensively. By contrast, the atmosphere in *The Mother and Sister of the Artist* is far more relaxed: the younger woman appears peaceful and lost in thought, hands gently clasped in her lap, while the older woman stretches out, absorbed in her book. The difference between the depictions of women in these two paintings illustrates that although many public spaces were beginning to become more accessible to women towards the end of the nineteenth century, women were often still unable to attain the

comfortable sense of belonging of their male counterparts. The curvature of the theatre stalls behind the subjects of *The Loge* suggests that the two women remain enclosed even in this public space, with the tension in their body language emphasising their awareness of how they appear, and of the rituals they must perform to remain within the narrow boundaries of social acceptability. Following the renovation of Paris by Baron Haussmann in the 1850s and 60s, the capital was transformed into a city of spectacle, with the Palais Garnier opera house in particular being designed as a space in which the wealthy could see and be seen, featuring an open foyer and grand staircase that acted as a hub for socialising and showcasing new fashions, as well as boxes allowing the wealthier audience members seating that ensured that they were apart from but similarly the focus

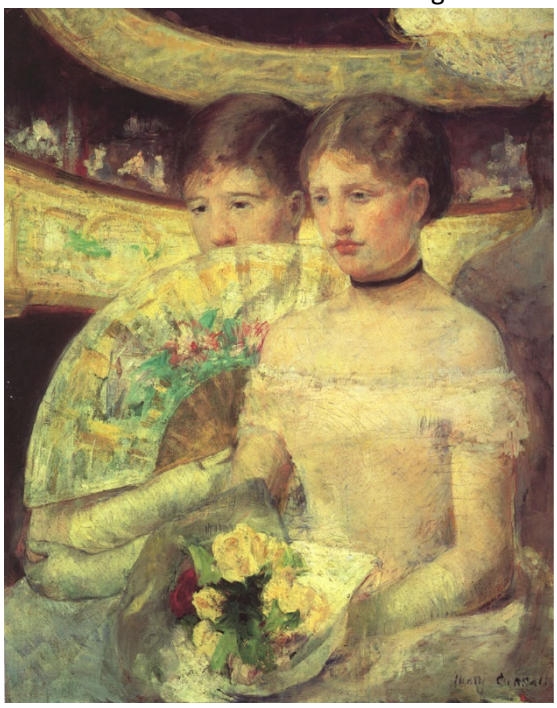

Fig. 9: *The Loge*

Fig. 10: *The Mother and Sister of the Artist*

of the attention of other audience members. While many theatregoers welcomed this chance to display themselves, flaunting their riches and fashionable clothing, the consequence of this is that everyone, attractive young women in particular, was subject to a controlling gaze, with the women in *The Loge* appearing painfully aware that they are being observed. As the theatre was one of the few public spaces into which unmarried, upper class women were free to venture, the two young women's tension is possibly also due to their consciousness of the gaze of potential suitors, and their fear that any false move could render them undesirable, an unthinkable fate for women who have been raised in a society in which marriage is the only acceptable vocation. The subjects of *The Mother and Sister of the Artist*, by contrast, appear far more natural, occupying a space free from a threatening male gaze.

Mansfield explores a similar question of space and the gaze in 'At the Bay', discussing how the atmosphere within the Burnell family's holiday home changes after Stanley leaves for work, leaving the female members of the household alone. The house and its inhabitants appear transformed:

> Oh, the relief, the difference it made to have the man out of the house. Their very voices were changed as they called to one another; they sounded warm and loving as if they shared a secret. Beryl went over to the table. 'Have another cup of tea, mother. It's still hot.' She wanted, somehow, to celebrate the fact that they could do what they liked now. There was no man to disturb them; the whole perfect day was theirs.[43]

The pressure placed on women to control their speech and actions around men is emphasised, as even with Stanley, a member of the family, the Burnell women must remain continually conscious of what they say and how they act. In the case of Beryl, this constant awareness of an appraising male gaze is often present even while she is alone, as she modifies her behaviour to ensure she always appears desirable, again emphasising the connection between young women's marriageability and their sense of self-worth. The three children have also learned to control their behaviour when under the observation of their father, with their breakfasting with him earlier in the narrative appearing as a performance: they walk to the table in their matching outfits, carrying their plates with 'the very greatest care'[44], with their grandma reminding them of their cue to say good morning to their father. However, when their father departs for work, the girls are free to drop this mask of politeness and run outside 'like chickens let out of a coop'[45], yet another image of women and girls being confined within domestic spaces. A more violent response to this temporary departure of male authority also appears in this sequence, as the Burnells' servant girl Alice clears up the breakfast dishes: 'she plunged the teapot into the bowl and held it under the water even after it had stopped bubbling, as if it too was a man and drowning was too good for them'.[46] A juxtaposition is created between the homely domesticity of the scene and this act of violence, as Alice rebels against her domestic role in the only way that is open to her. In addition to this examination of 'male' and 'female' spaces, a connection between the works of Mansfield and the works of women Impressionist artists is also apparent through both author and painters' explorations of female subjectivity. Interestingly, Pollock suggests that the purpose of Cassatt's oeuvre was to delineate femininity as it is 'induced, acquired and ritualized from youth through motherhood to old age',[47] a subject that Mansfield also explores in 'Prelude' and its sister story 'At the Bay', as it is uncertain whether the female characters in this narrative represent distinct individuals or a single woman at various stages of life. The two stories examine femininity as ritual and performance, as the children emulate the adults, staging a 'luncheon party' at which they discuss their husbands and children and lay a table with 'two geranium leaf plates, a pine needle fork and a twig knife'[48]. The girls' aunt Beryl

similarly plays at 'being an adult', although her behavioural cues come from romantic novels or films as she casts herself in the role of heroine and stages vignettes to showcase her youthful beauty to an adoring, yet imaginary, series of imaginary male lovers. In a moment of lucidity, Beryl is disgusted by her 'false self'[49], but falls back into her role when she is informed that Stanley has brought a male friend over for lunch, returning to the mirror to adjust her appearance. Pollock argues that Morisot is also concerned with female subjectivity in her work, suggesting that she chooses to depict crucial moments in women's development.[50] An example of this appears in Morisot's painting *Psyche* (1876), a portrait of Morisot's own daughter that examines the transitory stage between girlhood and womanhood, with the title evoking the mythical romance between Psyche and Cupid, a common symbol of sexual awakening in artworks (fig. 11). Pollock contends that the painting does

Fig. 11: *Psyche*

not objectify its subject, differing from similar works depicting a voyeuristic glimpse into the rituals of femininity as the young woman appears 'contemplative and thoughtful'[51]. However, through a comparison of Morisot's subject and Mansfield's Beryl, it is possible to argue that self-objectification is a ritualistic moment in the performance of femininity: the young woman in the painting practises posing her body, thrusting her chest forward and placing a hand on her hip to draw attention to her narrow waist, attempting like Beryl to discover the best means of accentuating her beauty. The myth of Cupid and Psyche, in which Cupid observes Psyche in her private chamber, also suggests that the young woman imagines herself as an object of male desire, conscious of the ways in which she must act and hold herself if she is to attract a husband.

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IV. Urban Modernity and Consumer Culture

As well as emulating the formal techniques of Impressionist painters, Mansfield's work is also aligned with Impressionism in that it often focuses on similar subject matter. While many proto-Impressionist painters under the tutelage of Gustave Courbet tended to depict rural scenes and peasant life, the changing urban environment in the cultural epicentre of Paris prompted Impressionists to move towards representations of urban life. This shift from the pastoral to the urban mirrors the transition in Mansfield's preferred subject matter: the stories she wrote during her teenage years and early twenties display elements of romanticism, portraying sensual relationships and characters who share an intense connection with nature and the elements. By contrast, while Mansfield's mature work retains this spiritual link to the natural world through motifs like the aloe in 'Prelude' and the pear tree in 'Bliss', her settings are primarily metropolitan, with her characters being simultaneously absorbed into and alienated by their modern urban environments. Choi contends that Mansfield's writing has a similar epistemological basis to Impressionist painting, sharing Impressionism's transience, speed and mutability, as discussed above. Similarly, Arnold Hauser refers to Impressionist painting as an 'urban style' which nonetheless possesses 'landscape quality', rendering 'the changeability, the nervous rhythm, the sudden, sharp but always ephemeral impressions of city life'.[52]

The sense of transition and movement that both Choi and Hauser identify as characteristic of Impressionism is also connected to artists' response to a changing urban environment. The shift towards representations of the city in Impressionist painting coincided with Haussmann's renovation of Paris in the mid-nineteenth century, during which the warren-like medieval structure of the city was replaced by large, sweeping boulevards, ostensibly to modernise the city but in reality as an attempt to eradicate discontented revolutionary groups by eliminating any possible hiding place. The Impressionists were aware of the bourgeois propaganda inherent in the creation of their new city, and reacted against this by attributing equal importance to high and low culture in their artworks. Many paintings from this period depict upper-class citizens promenading along the spacious new streets and in the open squares, but perhaps yet more reveal the hidden face of Paris that renovations were unable to eradicate: its café-concerts, dancehalls and brothels.

What these images of both upper and lower class city life have in common is their unstaged nature. The dazzling new Paris was a city in which the visual was privileged, with new vistas created by the broad streets, as well as the rising popularity of department stores and the opera, both locations where being seen was equally important to the shows or goods on offer, as discussed above. The

painters of modern life, to borrow Baudelaire's term, took on the role of flâneur, observers and chroniclers of this vibrant environment, with their snapshot-like images providing a candid portrait of the updated city. Choi points out that 'many of their paintings, set in modern commercial establishments like cafés, café-concerts, theatres and operas, are layered with critical subtexts, problematizing the age of high capitalism in which the whole spheres of social practise were subject to market forces and thus revealing the symptoms of strain'.[53] However, while some Impressionist paintings serve as a critique of capitalism and increasingly bourgeois Parisian society, other works are complicit in enforcing these power structures: predominantly a group of upper-middle class white men, many of the Impressionists benefitted from the dominant ideology. In Émile Zola's *The Ladies' Paradise* (1883), Parisian consumer culture is interrogated, as evidenced in Zola's description of Paris's lavish new shopping centre, the Bon Marché:

> At the far end of the hall, around one of the small cast-iron columns which supported the glass roof, material was streaming down like a bubbling sheet of water, falling from above and spreading out on to the floor. First, pale satins and soft silks were gushing out: royal satins and renaissance satins, with the pearly shades of spring water; light silks as transparent as crystal - Nile green, turquoise, blossom pink, Danube blue […] Women pale with desire were leaning over as if to look at themselves.[54]

Stylistically this passage shares affinities with Impressionist painting, with Zola's focus on colour and movement presenting a manmade, interior scene as if it is a naturally occurring phenomenon. The ubiquity of consumer culture is critiqued, and the luxurious fabrics' reflection of nature provides an ironic subversion of Romantic notions of the sublime: where once people were awestruck by the natural world (and by implication, the creations of God), they now find beauty and meaning in material goods. Interestingly, although the act of flânerie is most commonly associated with the modern Parisian man, Zola's 'ladies' paradise' presents an alternative reading of this, designating the observation of people as a male activity and the observation of things as a pastime for women.

What Zola fails to acknowledge in this instance is that the act of looking is inherently a form of consumerism, particularly when looking at people whose humanity has historically been called into question. Smith points out that in large department stores like the Bon Marché, working-class staff members were used to model goods for upper-class customers.[55] The dehumanising nature of this is explored in Mansfield's 'The Tiredness of Rosabel' (1908), as Rosabel is treated like a living mannequin by a young female customer who insists Rosabel tries on hats that she could never afford. Her exclamation 'I must have that!' when she sees Rosabel in the most expensive hat in the shop seems to encompass both the hat and Rosabel herself, both charming objects for the

customer's amusement.[56] Rosabel's objectification takes on uncomfortably sexual connotations when the customer leaves her male companion alone with Rosabel and he asks if she has ever been painted, commenting that she has 'such a damned pretty little figure'.[57] A parallel with Impressionist painters' preferred subjects is created, as many used working-class women as their models, often taking advantage of them both financially and sexually.

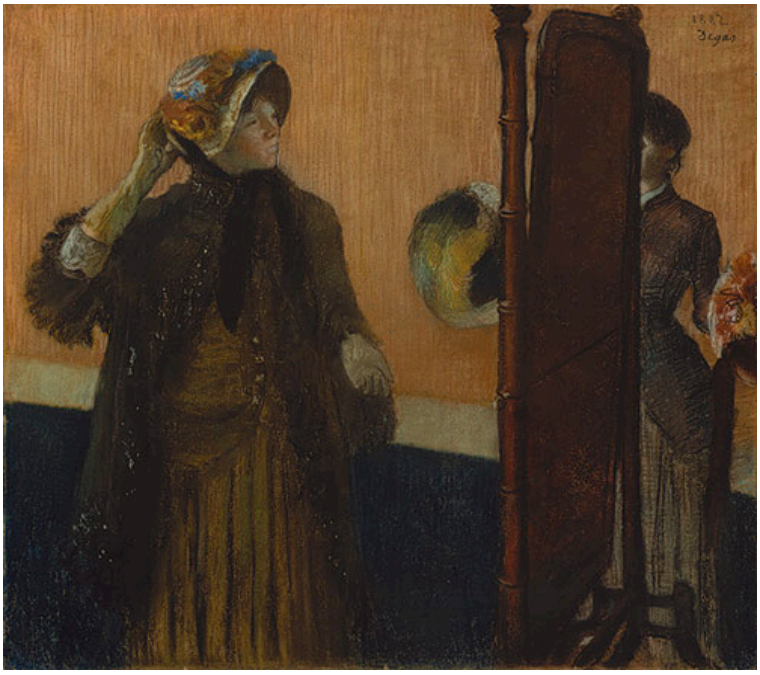

Fig. 12: *At the Milliners*

Through a comparison of paintings of similar retail-related subjects by both male and female artists, it is possible to examine differing attitudes to and differing representations of women's roles and consumerism in late nineteenth-century Paris. Anticipating 'The Tiredness of Rosabel', depictions of millinery shops were popular subjects in Impressionist paintings, acting as a symbol for Parisian consumer culture. The types of hats shown in these paintings are decorative rather than functional - 'lovely, perishable thing[s]', in the words of Rosabel – and are therefore an ideal representation of bourgeois frivolity and posturing. Hats were a status symbol, a means of flaunting one's wealth, yet in many artistic portrayals of the millinery shop, this also extends to shop workers, who like Rosabel are depicted as little more than accessories. Rosabel's role as a mannequin for a wealthier woman is anticipated in Edgar Degas's *At the Milliners* (1882): as Edward Lucie-Smith points out, the shop assistant in this painting 'has become almost an inanimate object, not much better than a hat stand' (fig. 12).[58] As well as being objectified in this way, the positioning of the shop assistant in the painting is also suggestive as she is partially hidden by the mirror, suggesting that working women take on the mirror-like role of reflecting upper-class women's egos. Rosabel too takes on a symbolic role as mirror to the woman she serves, being cruelly used as a means for the customer to see the

hat being tried on while mocking Rosabel, as the hat is a luxury item she could never hope to afford. The mirror role also suggests the arbitrariness of class divisions, as there is very little difference

Fig. 13: *The Milliner's Shop*

Fig. 14: *The Milliner*

between the two women other than their birth, with Rosabel's subsequent imaginative journey emphasising that it could easily be her in the wealthy customer's place. In James Tissot's *The Milliner's Shop* (1883-85), both the shop and its workers take on the role of status symbol consumables, as the two central figures in the painting are presented in terms of an objectifying male gaze (fig. 13). Lucie-Smith draws attention to the falsity of the scene, suggesting that 'Tissot's shop assistant, standing tall and straight with her back to the shop window, is an improbably glamorous figure, a symbol of Parisian chic, not a living, breathing individual'.[59] A fantasy vision of fashion is created, as Tissot presents consumer culture as aspirational, unconsciously dismissing its negative implications and erasing the experiences of the working class people who keep the industry afloat. The woman in the foreground of the painting meets the viewer's gaze and holds the door, drawing the viewer into the painting and creating an almost titillating sensation of being waited on and served, similar to the engagement between the barmaid subject and the audience in Manet's *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*. Just as the mirrors in Manet's painting call the authenticity of the barmaid's public persona into question, the framing in *The Milliner's Shop* also implies the subject is trapped in her role, as she is positioned between a table with a large heap of sewing supplies and the door, which opens to reveal a narrow sliver of the outside world that she is unable to access. The framing here relates back to Pollock's argument that paintings depicting women often demonstrate

unique spatial relationships, with claustrophobic positioning of various 'barriers' emphasising a subject's confinement in a domestic or interior space.[60] Tissot seems to imply that the woman exists only in terms of her profession, a by-product of bourgeois consumerism rather than a character. The second shop assistant in the painting is presented even more explicitly as a consumable object, as she is positioned in the shop window, rearranging a display, while an older, bearded man stares in at her. The woman's head is inclined as if she is aware of his gaze, but she does not appear to be facing him head on, suggesting a consciousness of both a class and gender divide: looking suggests ownership and transaction, which in this case is a one-way process. In 'The Tiredness of Rosabel', the wealthy couple in the shop fix Rosabel with a similarly appraising stare, and in spite of her anger she is only able to look away, remaining 'bent over the hat, flushing'.[61] In Tissot's painting, the shop assistant in the window is also objectified in terms of her interaction with the objects around her: much like Zola's female shoppers looking at sumptuous materials as if 'looking at themselves', the shop assistant's dress seamlessly flows into the fabric in the window, becoming absorbed into the display. Similarly, her positioning next to a mannequin reflects the tradition of using shop workers as models, with the framing of the male flâneur between the woman and this disembodied torso suggesting that they are interchangeable. Interestingly, in spite of the painting's title, the window display features no visible hats, calling into question what is truly for sale in this scene.

While Degas and Tissot objectify working class women in their paintings, Eva Gonzalès's *The Milliner* (1877) presents a more humanised figure (fig. 14). Gonzalès's milliner is given agency by being presented as the creative force behind the store: she is the milliner of the title rather than working for an unnamed proprietor, and she is depicted in the act of selecting decorations for a hat, while some completed creations can be seen in the background. According to Lucie-Smith, '[Gonzalès's] milliner is a working woman, slightly careworn in spite of the cheerful light blue of her dress; the trimmings she handles so matter-of-factly are simply a way of making a living'.[62] While Lucie-Smith sees the milliner as matter-of-fact, perhaps due to being depicted while at work, it is also possible to interpret her expression as contemplative; she pauses in her work as if lost in thought, her hand hanging loosely over a box of fabric. Unlike the put-upon shop assistant in Degas's painting and the glamorous, status symbol women in Tissot's work, the working woman here is presented as a character who is not solely defined in terms of her service to the bourgeoisie of the city. Gonzalès chooses to focus on her as the subject of the painting rather than portraying her as a decorative addition to her workplace, with her faraway expression implying that, much like Mansfield's Rosabel, she too may be searching for an imaginative escape.

The portrayal of women as consumable goods in Impressionist art reflected the beliefs held by many male Impressionist painters. Monet's relationships with women were famously turbulent, as he lived

in the same household as both his first wife Camille and his lover and second wife-to-be Alice. The treatment of female Impressionist painters by their male contemporaries was similarly exploitative: Manet enjoyed casting Gonzalès and Morisot as rivals, constantly comparing them to one another, as well as criticising and retouching many of Morisot's paintings. The comparison of women to one another purely on the grounds of their sex is common in criticism, and rivalry is promoted far more often than solidarity: a contemporary review compared Cassatt and Morisot, stating that 'in spite of her personality, which is still not completely free, Miss Cassatt has nevertheless a curiosity, a special attraction, for a flutter of feminine nerves passes through her painting that is more poised, more peaceful, more capable than that of Mme Morisot, pupil of Manet'.[63] It is evident that male critics were unable to praise a woman's art without simultaneously reducing her work to a 'curiosity', suggesting the quality of the art is due to inherent 'feminine' qualities rather than carefully developed skill, and using this praise to belittle another woman, who is herself defined in terms of her inferior relationship to a man. Pollock and Rozsika Parker point out that women writers experienced similar frustrations to women artists, as they were creating within and using the tools of a male-established, male-dominated medium, and were therefore forced to search for a means of using language to transcend this.[64] Degas was also reluctant to praise a woman's work, reportedly responding to Cassatt's paintings with the statement 'I am not willing to admit that a woman can draw so well'.[65] Unable to dismiss Cassatt's artwork, Degas turned to criticisms of her physical appearance, claiming 'I would have married her, but I could never have made love to her', as well as painting an unflattering portrait of her that she referred to as 'painful' and 'repugnant'.[66] As Mansfield discusses in multiple pieces of writing, women's perceived 'worth' in society is inextricably linked with narrow cultural standards of beauty: no matter how talented a woman is, evaluations of her as a person will always return to her physical appearance. Degas's struggle to express any admiration for Cassatt reflects his problematic view of women in general. He was notoriously misogynistic, voyeuristically watching women, often without their consent, in order to objectify and demean them. Lucie-Smith declares that 'essentially he saw his subjects as purely animal. He once compared a woman washing to a cat licking itself. He wanted to catch his sitters completely off guard, behaving as if they were wholly unaware of the spectator's presence'.[67] This comparison of women to animals, which also appears as a device throughout Mansfield's body of work, emphasises men's disgust and disrespect for women, suggesting an almost Jekyll and Hyde-like fear of the primitive Other.

The act of voyeuristically observing women can also be connected to Mansfield, as she writes about taking inspiration from the world around her:

> It is such strange delight to observe people and to try to understand them […] To push through the heavy doors into little cafes and to watch the pattern people make among tables & bottles and glasses, to watch women when they are off their guard […] To air oneself among these things, to seek them, to explore them and then to go apart and detach oneself from them – and to write -[68]

Mansfield's simultaneous observation of and removal from the scenes she encounters aligns her with the flâneur, recording the flux of modern life. Her eye seems particularly attuned to small visual details, as she sees 'patterns' in the composition of people and objects and focuses on people's appearances rather than, for example, recording their conversations, emphasising the painterly nature of her imagination. Her attention to people's movements and interactions with their environment also invites comparisons with a stage manager: this is reminiscent of Miss Brill, who looks for patterns in the people around her and concludes that they are all on the stage, as well as Bertha in 'Bliss', who is primarily an observer rather than a participant in the dinner party group she has assembled – 'she longed to tell them how delightful they were, and what a decorative group they made, and how they seemed to set one another off and how they reminded her of a play by Tchekof!'[69] In spite of this imaginative staging of the scenes around her, however, Mansfield's unseen observation of women takes on different connotations to that of Degas. His gaze is controlling and dehumanising, viewing women as objects or, at best, compliant animals to be arranged into attractive compositions. The shop assistant in *At the Milliners* is testament to this, as well as his famous ballet dancers, all anonymous and interchangeable figures rather than artists in their own right. On the other hand, while Mansfield's observations of women can result in unflattering portrayals, her women are, first and foremost, human, as she masterfully suggests an entire character with just a few words. The theatricality of the scenes Mansfield observes also raises a question that Degas would have been unlikely to acknowledge, namely whether or not women can ever truly be 'off their guard'. As Mansfield investigates in stories like 'Prelude', women have been conditioned to look a certain way and to speak and act in certain patterns, to the extent to which these learned behaviours can continue even when they believe they are alone. In contrast to Degas's theory about women's behaviour being primarily instinctive and animal, learned shame and self-consciousness actually often prevent any actions that are truly 'natural', as women undergo rituals of performed femininity.

In addition to portrayals of luxurious shopping centres as places to see and be seen, the Impressionists also explored the gaze as a means of consumerism in their paintings of the theatre. As mentioned previously, going to the theatre was a key social event in any upper-class Parisian's social calendar, with the newly designed theatres and opera houses like the Palais Garnier providing large,

gallery-like spaces in which the bourgeoisie were able to socialise and showcase their latest fashionable outfits. Theatres were also significant as a public space into which women – albeit women of a certain social class – were free to venture, although as paintings like Cassatt's *The Loge* reveal, this could be an intimidating experience. For the modern theatregoer, the boundary between

Fig. 15: *The Loge*

Fig. 16: *A Loge at the Théâtre des Italiens*

performer and audience breaks down, with everyone present being subject to a controlling and evaluating gaze. The isolation inherent in this visually-focused world is also a recurring concern in Impressionist works: in Renoir's *The Loge* (1874), a well-dressed couple sit together, but in spite of their physical closeness, they appear to be emotionally distant from one another (fig. 15). Renoir expresses a sense of irreconcilability between the couple through the symbolic use of opera glasses, as the man ignores his companion, instead using the glasses to scan the audience – the angle at which he is positioned means that he cannot be looking at the stage. Gonzalès's *A Loge at the Théâtre des Italiens* (1874) displays a similar lack of connection between its subjects, with the man looking past his partner, possibly towards another box (fig. 16). While he fades into the dark background of the painting, the female subject is a vibrant figure who appears to be leaning forward away from the engulfing blackness of the box and its heavy curtain. Like the flowers beside her and on her clothing she is delicate and ephemeral, seeming out of place in this dusky interior. The motif of opera glasses also appears in this painting, as the woman holds a pair in her hand, suggesting a potential escape, the ability to transport herself to another place. Significantly, however, she does not use them: Gonzalès presents her as the figure to be gazed upon, with the darkness of the setting and her shadowy male companion emphasising that in public spaces like the theatre, men look and women appear.

Fig. 17: *In the Loge*

While the majority of works depicting theatre audiences follow these patterns, Cassatt presents a female subject with agency in her painting *In the Loge* (1878), an exciting work that interrogates and challenges the male gaze (fig. 17). In many Impressionist paintings, women were positioned to face an audience, either demurely looking downwards as in the two images above, or invitingly meeting the viewer's eye, as in Tissot's *The Milliner's Shop* or Manet's *Olympia*. In contrast, *In the Loge* portrays a woman who is less explicitly posed for the viewer's consumption: she is an unsexualized figure, presented in profile, and her agency is expressed in visual terms as she looks through opera glasses, ignoring the viewer to gaze out upon the crowds. The use of opera glasses to suggest a mediated gaze emphasises the modern privileging of the visual, as well as acting as a symbol of scientific progress and new ways of seeing. The act of watching people without their consent also suggests a potentially more sinister side to advances in visual technologies, anticipating recording and surveillance devices. This potential elimination of privacy was a prominent fear in the Victorian imagination, as narratives from the period like H.G. Wells's 'The Crystal Egg' (1897) suggest, in which alien technology is used to monitor unwary humans, fixing them with an appraising, otherworldly gaze. The ability to watch people unseen also relates to an older form of visual technology, the camera obscura, with the attraction of this as a form of entertainment paralleling early film: audiences would watch live scenes featuring familiar people and places, with the novelty of the attraction being that they were observing these scenes 'secretly', at a mediated distance. Returning to Cassatt's painting, it appears that in spite of the subject's agency, she herself is unable to avoid being the subject of the gaze, as she is fixed between the twin gazes of the viewer and a man in the

background of the painting who observes her through opera glasses of his own. An entire narrative is suggested by this painting, as the power dynamics of looking are interrogated, and the boundary between public and private space begins to break down.

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Mansfield's engagement with Impressionist artworks is evident through both the style and structure of her fiction. Like the Impressionists, she aimed to present a subjective and visually rich view of the world, focalising her narratives through the eyes of her characters, as in 'Miss Brill'. In addition to the role of subjective vision in 'Miss Brill', the story is also aligned with Impressionist experimentation through its commentary on the role of the flâneur, revealing that the ability to 'set up house in the heart of the multitude', in the words of Charles Baudelaire, is not always possible for women.[70] The impossibility of becoming an anonymous figure is addressed by Pollock, as she points out that women do not have the freedom to venture into the same spaces as men, and are unable to be their authentic selves in public as they have been taught to be constantly aware of their appearances. Pollock's argument that spatial dynamics are different in paintings by women has clear parallels with Mansfield's writing: like Morisot and Cassatt, Mansfield contrasts images of women in public and private spaces, using visual metaphor to reveal the inequalities they face. When Mansfield's female characters do venture into public space, they are often mocked and objectified, like Miss Brill, or forced to experience trauma, as with Frau Brechenmacher's immersive visions of her husband's violence.

Mansfield's fiction also parallels the progression of modern art through its changing subject matter, as she increasingly begins to focus on representations of the fast pace of city life. Through a comparison of 'The Tiredness of Rosabel' and various artistic depictions of the modern department store, it is possible to interpret the act of looking as a form of consumerism. Again, a discrepancy between the treatment of working class women in paintings by men and paintings by women is evident, as Degas and Tissot represent their shop assistants as mannequins for the visual consumption of their affluent customers. Mansfield similarly explores this objectification of the working woman, although much like Gonzalès's *The Milliner*, Rosabel is a character with agency, imaginatively rebelling against her humdrum life through her imaginative visions. Throughout Mansfield's fiction and the works of the artists who inspired her, the visual is gendered and used as a form of control. Clear parallels can be drawn between Mansfield and painters like Morisot, Cassatt and Gonzalès, as they depict the ways in which women in their society are restricted.

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[70] Charles Baudelaire, 'The Painter of Modern Life', in *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, ed. and trans. Jonathan Mayne (London: Phaidon Press, 1995), p.9.

Chapter 2: 'Transforming into an image': Mansfield and Photography

From the mid-nineteenth century to the present day, the visual and the act of looking have become increasingly culturally significant. In the modern world, we are accosted by images almost constantly, with society being largely organised around visual cues, many of which are used to enforce dominant ideologies. Through looking, we are able to make sense of the world around us, negotiate social relationships, and pose questions of truth and meaning, all of which attest to the importance of the visual in our everyday lives. In the study *Practises of Looking* (2009), Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright suggest that images can evoke an unparalleled emotional response in a viewer: 'We invest the visual artefacts and images we create and encounter on a daily basis with significant power – for instance, the power to conjure an absent person, the power to calm or incite to action, the power to persuade or mystify, the power to remember'.[1] Writing during the peak of the age of modern visual culture, a time of artistic experimentation, mass print culture and new cinematic entertainments, Mansfield would have been increasingly aware of the 'significant power' of the image. In her fiction, images are used as leitmotifs that unlock access to characters' inner lives, with the aloe in 'Prelude' being a particularly noteworthy example of this: the characters project their desires on to the image of the plant, and it acts as a connecting force that spans the gap between generations. Sturken and Cartwright's comments on the image's power to conjure the absent is similarly applicable to Mansfield's work, with characters' gaze on significant objects resulting in apparent spatial and temporal transportations, such as the image of the Burberry raincoat in 'An Indiscreet Journey' providing the protagonist with views of both her past and her projected future.

In addition to the impact of new motion picture technologies on the modern imagination, it is also necessary to consider the preceding role that photography had to play in nineteenth- and twentieth-century visual culture. Commercially introduced in 1839 with Louis Daguerre's Daguerreotype process, photography rapidly developed from a solemn studio experience to an activity in which anyone, anywhere could participate, with the introduction of the mass-produced Kodak Brownie in 1901. Much like the cinema, this new technology was instrumental in changing perceptions of time, space and visuality, allowing a single moment to become timelessly preserved. The invention of photography also impacted on the arts, being potentially the most significant factor in the development of movements like Impressionism. As Mario Praz points out,

> The invention which completely unhinged the traditional structure of painting was photography. This new way of fixing the appearance of the external world may be considered responsible for the new patterns of pictorial composition which became

> current after the middle of the century, for the preference given to fragments rather than to grand compositions, for the interest in glimpses of humble life, peasants, nameless folk, and landscapes with no special distinction to recommend them, seen in snapshot.[2]

This focus on everyday detail similarly fascinated Mansfield, as she writes about characters from a variety of social and economic backgrounds, as well as providing a sense of the everydayness of the spaces they inhabit. According to Tomalin, Mansfield had a photographic memory, 'storing up her impressions like a squirrel' and remembering images which could be 'drawn on, sorted and selected later, as if from a box of prints'.[3] Similarly, in her letters, she frequently laments the insufficiency of words, attempting to let her correspondents 'see' the places and people she describes. While staying in Italy for a rest cure, she writes to Murry, attesting that 'the sea is my very favourite sea – bright bright blue… It is in fact *the very thing* I should like to express in writing – it has *the very quality*'.[4] When words eventually fail her, she turns to images, attempting to draw a boat that she sees but concluding that 'no, I can't draw her'. However, despite the ultimate failure of both words and images to bring Murry closer to her, she still addresses him as if he has momentarily been transported to her side, asking 'what a place – eh Bogey?'[5] Throughout Mansfield's personal and published writing, this desire to capture in words and share 'the very quality' of what she sees is explored, with her short stories acting as a series of literary snapshots into her characters' lives.

While modern art movements like Impressionism focused on subjective interpretation, photography was considered to be a purely objective form, providing representations that were true to life. However, in the first section of this chapter, I argue that the perceived truth-value of the photograph is in fact a myth, as photography is mediated through human agency. Drawing on the studies of Roland Barthes, I examine the relationship between photography and authenticity, relating the discomfort of the photographic gaze to women's experiences. In section two, I provide a brief overview of photographic manipulation, with particular reference to Victorian sprit photography. The connection between the photographic image and death is evident in Mansfield's short story 'Six Years After', as temporal distortion and memory are explored. In the following section, I apply Barthes's concepts of the photographic 'studium' and 'punctum' to the use of photography in Mansfield's writing, as photographs are transformed into fetish objects and presented as a means for women to use their appearances as a form of currency. The significant power of the photographic image is equally relevant to Mansfield's personal experiences, as I suggest at the end of this section, discussing the photographic exchanges between Mansfield and Francis Carco. Section three also considers Mansfield's fiction in terms of surrealist photography, with reference to the miniature worlds of surrealist artist Joseph Cornell, as well as André Breton's concept of 'convulsive

beauty'. Finally, I discuss the role of the photograph in enforcing dominant ideologies, examining the ways in which Mansfield uses photography as a means of interrogating class divisions and marital inequality.

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I. The Myth of Photographic Truth

As well as the emotional qualities of the image, the nineteenth century saw the development of a close relationship between vision and perceptions of reality and truth. Sturken and Cartwright point out that the birth of photography occurred during a time in which positivist theories of science were influential, with positivists suggesting that true objectivity could only be achieved in the absence of human intervention. Sturken and Cartwright write,

> Positivism, a philosophy that emerged in the mid-nineteenth century, holds that scientific knowledge is the only authentic knowledge and concerns itself with truths about the world. In positivism, the individual actions of the scientist came to be viewed as a liability in the process of performing and reproducing experiments, as it was thought that the scientist's own subjective actions might influence the outcome or skew the objectivity of the experiment. Hence, in positivism, machines were regarded as more reliable than unaided human sensory perception or the hand of the artist in production of empirical evidence.[6]

The idea that 'truth' is only attainable through scientific observation also relates to Spiegel's *Fiction and the Camera Eye*, in which he argues that literature around this time saw a shift to presenting the world from a character's subjective point of view, rather than halting the action in a narrative to allow for lengthy sequences of authorial exposition. This new technique of showing rather than telling in literature was also brought about by positivist beliefs, Spiegel suggests, as increasing numbers of people began to interpret the world around them in scientific rather than theological terms, finding truth and meaning in measurable fact rather than blind faith. As fictional characters are authorial constructs, it is impossible to present a genuinely subjective viewpoint, yet the new visually conscious novel allowed for more space for readers to interpret a character's actions in a variety of ways, reading between the lines and actively engaging with the creation of the narrative. During the modernist period, this shift away from the notion of author as authority was evident in several fictional works, as attested by the popularity of stream of consciousness narratives, fragmented and inconclusive short stories, and the use of increasingly cinematic focalisers. Many authors were reluctant to offer their readers a singular conclusion, with Mansfield expressing

reluctance towards the idea of confronting large-scale human events head-on, preferring to offer an interpretation of them in a tangential or symbolic manner. In a letter to Murry, she discusses the impossibility of expressing her true feelings about the hugely destructive scale of the Great War, referring to her consciousness of death as 'deserts of vast eternity'. She writes 'I couldn't tell anybody *bang out* about those deserts. They are my secret. I might write about a boy eating strawberries or a woman combing her hair on a windy morning & that is the only way I can ever mention them. But they *must* be there. Nothing less will do'.[7] With the loss of faith in comprehensive human perception, especially in a patriarchal form, modernist authors like Mansfield therefore attempted to document small truthful moments rather than coming to a large, sweeping conclusion about life as a whole.

In spite of the positivist faith in machine objectivity, however, the idea of photographic truth is, in the words of Barthes, a myth. As photography requires human agency, it can never be truly objective: the photographer selects the person or scene to be photographed, determines how the image will be framed, and often adds props or tells the subject how to pose. Barthes's musings on the idea of a 'candid' photograph emphasise that photographic objectivity is impossible, as he claims that 'once I feel myself observed by the lens, everything changes: I constitute myself in the process of "posing", I instantaneously make another body for myself, I transform myself in advance into an image'.[8] Barthes's words seem to describe almost an out-of-body experience, as he appears to be self-consciously viewing himself from an outside perspective. In his essay 'The Art of Being Photographed' (1893), H. G. Wells recounts a conversation with his fictitious uncle in which he argued that it is impossible to remain authentic when posing for a photograph:

> Our well-bred ease fails us before the camera; we are lucky if we merely look stiff and self-conscious. […] We go in a state of nervous agitation, obsequiously costumed; our last vestige of self-assertion vanishes before the unwinking Cyclops eye of the instrument, and we cower at the mercy of the thing and its attendant. They make what they will of us, and the retoucher simply edits the review with an eye to the market. So history is falsified before our faces, and we prepare a lie for our grandchildren. We fail to stamp our individualities upon our photographs, and are mere 'dumb, driven cattle' in the matter.[9]

Wells's 'uncle' presents an almost dystopian vision of photography, interpreting the camera as a sentient being that regards its subjects with a threatening eye. Due to both discomfort before the camera's lens and the tendency to 'retouch' photos to ensure the subject conforms to the fashions of the time, the uncle concludes that a photograph is, by its very nature, a false representation.

Wells himself would have been familiar with the extent to which images could be doctored, as his first wife Isabel was a photographic retoucher by trade. It can however be argued that this lack of authenticity while being observed did not originate alongside the birth of photography: as John Berger points out in *Ways of Seeing* (1972), watching oneself is a way of life for women, as a woman must 'survey everything she is and everything she does because how she appears to others, and ultimately how she appears to men, is of crucial importance for what is normally thought of as the success of her life'.[10] In Mansfield's writing, Beryl is a character who epitomises this attitude, as her consciousness of the gaze of male observers causes her to alter her actions and appearance, to the extent that she continues this transformation of herself into a 'sight' even when she is alone.

When trying to determine 'truth', therefore, it is important to consider that a concept of a 'universal truth' is impossible – the reality of life for one group of people may be completely different for another, due to various social, cultural, economic and geographical factors. However, in a patriarchal society, the experiences of women and other marginalised groups are often diminished if they fail to conform to the perceived 'standard' experience of the heterosexual white male, leading to theories like those of Barthes and Wells providing only a limited perspective. Many contemporary studies of the modernist period attempt to redress this imbalance, considering the experiences of groups of people who have traditionally been Othered and repositioning their work within a literary canon. Pierre Bourdieu argues that 'aesthetic conflicts about the legitimate vision of the world, […] about what deserves to be represented and the right way to represent it, are political conflicts for the power to impose the dominant definitions of reality, and social reality in particular'.[11] The concept of 'reality' therefore remains fluid, meaning that photographic reality can only represent one potential facet of the truth, which is often constructed by a privileged perspective. Similarly, modernist literature is not fixed, but rather a continually evolving product, as different groups struggle for power and representation.[12] In a study of modernist women artists and writers, Bridget Elliot and Jo-Ann Wallace point out that the act of retrospectively adding the works of marginalised groups to what is perceived to be the 'primary' canon is not revisionist, but rather an interrogation of the ways in which history is constructed: 'in imposing and positioning women within the literary and art historical discourses of modernism, we are not recovering a more authentic or "truer" modernism. We hope instead to expose some of the ways in which cultural fields are constructed and especially the ways in which gender influences and informs these constructions'.[13]

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II. 'The dark curtain has rolled down': Photographic Manipulation and the Return of the Dead

Returning to the myth of photographic truth, however, photographs are viewed as being candid depictions of reality to such an extent that even photographic manipulation cannot damage a photograph's perceived truth value. A famous example of this is the Cottingley Fairies hoax: in 1917, teenagers Elsie Wright and Frances Griffiths took photographs of themselves posing with fairies, and these images garnered both media and academic attention (fig. 18). The photographs were later proven to be fakes, with the 'fairies' being cardboard cutouts that the girls had carefully copied from a book. However, this evidence did not come to light until decades later, and in the meantime, many were fooled. Members of theosophical and spiritualist groups took a great interest in the photographs, and they also sparked the imagination of some prominent writers of the time, such as Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, who published an article on the Cottingley Fairies in the 1920 Christmas edition of the *Strand* magazine, which was later to inspire his 1922 book *The Coming of the Fairies*. Perhaps most tellingly, another popular author, Henry De Vere Stacpoole, wrote 'Look at [Frances'] face. Look at [Elsie's] face. There is an extraordinary thing called TRUTH which has 10 million faces and forms – it is God's currency and the cleverest coiner or forger can't imitate it'.[14] A yet more pervasive example of this wide-spread belief in the 'truth' of photographic images is evident through the popularity of spirit photography in the late nineteenth century. Capitalising on the Victorian fascination with the supernatural, photographers would insert 'ghosts' into their images, either

Fig. 18: *Fairy Offering a Posy to Elsie*

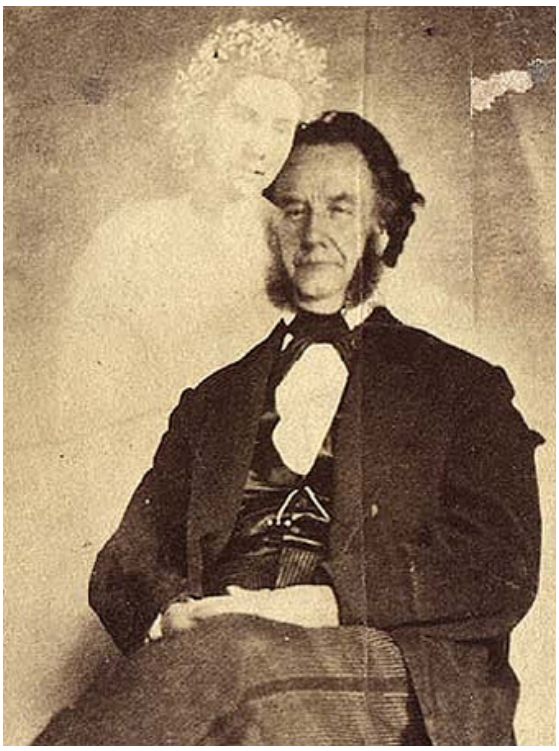

Fig. 19: *Spirit Photograph*

through the inclusion of a mannequin or cardboard cutout, anticipating the Cottingley Fairies, or through the use of double exposure to combine two images, with the image of the photographic subject posing as the 'ghost' being left out of focus and translucent (fig. 19). The level of belief in the veracity of these images was also high, as many would pay for photographic self-portraits in which the ghost of a dead relative would appear. The lack of objectivity of the photographic image is again apparent, as the spirit photographers' customers would project their desires on to these images: the ghostly figure in the photograph would presumably bear little resemblance to their loved one, but the desire to see them would distort the evidence before their eyes. The connection between photographs and death is also pointed out by Barthes, as he describes photography as a process which involves three participants: the 'operator', or the person who takes the photograph, the 'spectator', or the person who views the photograph, and the 'spectrum', or the person or object who is the subject of the photograph. Barthes explains his choice of the word 'spectrum', suggesting that 'it retains, through its root, a relation to "spectacle" and adds to it that rather terrible thing which is there in every photograph: the return of the dead'.[15]

This longing to visualise the dead is explored in Mansfield's story 'Six Years After', in which she speculates on how her parents might be coping with the loss of their beloved son Leslie, six years on from his death. As the couple travel by steamer, Annie Beauchamp's gaze over the dark, stormy water seems to summon a 'presence', and she has the strange sensation that she is 'sitting there on that quiet steamer beside Father and at the same time […] hushing and holding a little slender boy – so pale – who had just walked out of a dreadful dream'.[16] Annie's memory of Leslie as a child is so immersive that both the past and the present moment seem equally vivid, appearing simultaneously much like a photographic double exposure. A sensation of helplessness is suggested, as Annie is unable to prevent her son's death: she is only able to observe from another time and place as if she is a cinema spectator. Mansfield's stories frequently explore liminal states, as discussed in the following chapter, and it is in this liminal space on the ship's deck between night and day, land and open sea, that the boundaries between two worlds are able to break down. The confusion of past and present in the narrative presents Leslie as a ghostly figure even in the flashbacks to his childhood, foreshadowing his eventual fate, as Annie remembers consoling him after a nightmare, recalling that 'when he was asleep, his dream had journeyed with her back into the circle of lamplight; it had taken its place there like a ghost'.[17] A variety of Victorian visual technologies are evoked by this image: Annie's desperate desire to remember her dead son transcends logic and reality, with him appearing before her not as she last saw him, but in the form in which she most fondly remembers him, mirroring the exploitation of grief employed by spirit photographers. Similarly, the image of the dream's ghostlike movement 'into the circle of lamplight' is suggestive of

the mysterious, closeted space of a séance, or potentially an allusion to an effect used in the phantasmagoria, in which lighting techniques allowed 'ghosts' to appear alongside actors onstage, as explored in more detail in chapter four. The theatrical nature of the ghostly child's manifestation is also accentuated as Annie's vision abruptly vanishes: 'But softly without a sound the dark curtain has rolled down. There is no more to come. That is the end of the play. But it can't end like that – so suddenly. There must be more. No, it's cold, it's still. There is nothing to be gained by waiting'.[18] By presenting her brother's life in terms of a spirit photograph or a theatrical effect, Mansfield emphasises the unknowability of life, as well as its brief, intangible nature. Like an actor onstage, Leslie's time was fleeting, and the abruptness of his death mirrors the jarring sense of moving from a theatrical world in which one was immersed to the mundanity of everyday life: both Mansfield and her mother feel cheated, and strive to keep Leslie alive through writing and memory.

The relationship between photography and time is complex, challenging established concepts of memory and temporal relationships. Cartesian space as described by Descartes is based on coordinates; it has a physical dimensionality with height, weight and depth. However, this understanding of space was challenged by the invention of photography, which introduced time as a dimensional element as photographs could fix an image in a single, fractional moment of time.[19] The uncanny effect of being able to view a photographic representation of a past event or a younger version of a person shares parallels with early responses to cinema, with cinemagoers like Woolf writing on film's ability to take the viewer outside conventional boundaries of time. The unfamiliar visual space of the high-speed journey provides a similar temporal distortion, as I explore in the following chapter. According to Rebecca Beasley, a formal concern in modern art of the early twentieth century was the relationship between fluid time and motion, or flow, and the individual, singular moment, or fragment. Beasley points out that the interest in flow and fragment can be traced back to the development of still and motion-picture photography, which opened new forms of time and space to human observers.[20] In addition to the explorations of these states in art, modernist writers also explored fluid time in their works, capturing dynamic sensations and the interplay of objects. Photographic manipulation of time also allowed for scientific study, such as in the works of physiologist Étienne-Jules Marey, who used machines to graph animal locomotion, tethering animals to instruments that recorded their movement in 'the sinuous curves of analog measurement'.[21] In order to capture images of birds in flight, Marey constructed a new camera mechanism that had a fixed plate and revolving shutter, instead of vice versa, meaning that as the window on the shutter passed the lens, a phase of the bird's movement would be recorded on the plate. Marey referred to this process as chronophotography, or time photography. Another pioneer of animal locomotion studies was Eadweard Muybridge, a landscape photographer who was hired to

work for the Governor of California Leland Stanford in order to settle a bet about the gait of a horse. Muybridge arranged a series of cameras with tripwires attached to their shutters in order to photograph successive images of a horse in motion, establishing that during a 'flying gallop', all four of the horse's hooves leave the ground simultaneously, a phenomenon that is invisible to the human eye. Marey's chronophotography differed from Muybridge's work as Marey recorded movement on a single plate, seen from a single view, resulting in 'a composite of layers of time within a single frame'.[22] These multiple exposures inspired various filmmaking techniques, from superimposition to stop-motion animation. Muybridge however used multiple cameras in his studies, with each camera recording a stage of movement on a discrete frame. Mansfield displays a similar interest in fragmented motion in stories like 'Millie' (1913), as Millie interprets horses in the distance as 'brown spots dancing up and down'.[23] This distorted vision reveals the intense heat of Millie's desert-like home, emphasising her subjective point of view in the narrative. The idea of motion being broken down into separate frames is also evoked in 'Bank Holiday', which provides a mobile viewpoint of a

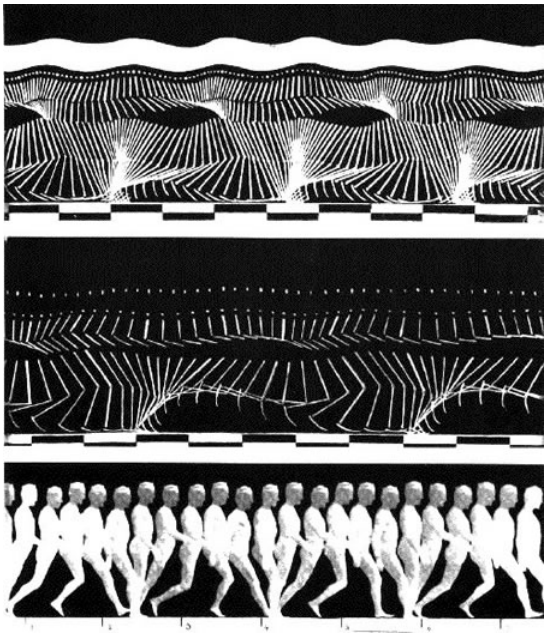

Fig. 20: *Geometric Chronophotographs of the Man in the Black Suit*

busy crowd, as well as in stories like 'Miss Brill', in which the people whom the narrator watches are each described in terms of a single detail, the feature that first strikes the eye before they move 'out of shot'. The confusion of attempting to watch so many people simultaneously is suggested, in 'Bank Holiday', as the brain struggles to keep pace with the eye, causing surreal transformations as 'old fat women' become 'dusty pin-cushions', a thin woman is glimpsed as a 'worn umbrella', and young girls wear hats 'that might have grown on hedges'.[24] Muybridge and Marey's studies are also potentially referenced as the motion of the people in the crowd causes them to disintegrate into

their component parts, with the comment that 'occasionally a leg hops, an arm wags'[25] suggesting Marey's human locomotion studies (fig. 20).

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III. Studium, Punctum and the Photograph as Fetish Object

Returning to *Camera Lucida*, Barthes identifies the two qualities that a photograph must possess in order to have an impact on the viewer. The first of these is the 'studium', which refers to the truth function of the photograph and its human interest, while the second, the 'punctum', is an element that breaks or punctuates the studium, creating an image that is unexpected, arresting, or poignant.[26] In order to provoke a true emotional response in the viewer, Barthes suggests, a photograph must be invested with both studium and punctum – studium alone is not enough to create a memorable image. In his study on photographic meaning, Allan Sekula arrives at a similar conclusion regarding the impact of photographs, writing 'photographs achieve semantic status as fetish objects and as documents. The photograph is imagined to have, depending on its context, a power that is primarily affective or a power that is primarily informative. Both powers reside in the mythical truth-value of the photograph'.[27] In Mansfield's fiction, the notion of photographic truth is frequently contested, with photographs occupying an uncertain status as their viewers attempt to transform them into both documents and fetish objects. Photographs frequently appear as a means for women to sell themselves: in 'Pictures' (1919), aspiring actress Miss Moss sends her headshots to various agencies only to be informed that they have no work for her but they have filed her photograph 'for future ref'[28], a statement that both Miss Moss and the reader know to be untrue. Her aim to imbue her portraits with Barthes's 'punctum' has failed, as she is unable to demonstrate the youth and vigour the studios are looking for. Similar photographs that fail in their fetish status appear in 'Je ne parle pas français' (1918), as Raoul discusses his inauthenticity, comparing himself to a prostitute who advertises her body by handing erotic photographs to potential customers. Like Miss Moss's attempts at an alluring persona, these photographs similarly fail to impress: Raoul mimics 'a little woman in a café' passing out these images, describing them as 'me in my chemise, coming out of an eggshell', and 'me upside down in a swing, with a frilly behind like a cauliflower'.[29] The women in the photographs are presented as goods to be purchased and consumed, with the grotesque references to eggs and cauliflowers emphasising the photographs' failed eroticism, as these decidedly unglamorous foods align the women who emulate them with everyday domestic drudgery. Much like a staple item of food, they appear cheap and easily available, as Raoul implies that they will sustain their consumers but are unlikely to truly satisfy them. The image of the woman emerging from the egg is also demeaning in that it presents her as animalistic, with comparisons

between women and animals commonly appearing in Mansfield's work as a means of emphasising the lack of personhood afforded to women in her society, particularly for those who stray from a socially acceptable domestic role.

The concepts of photographic studium and punctum are both illustrated in the works of surrealist artist, photographer and filmmaker Joseph Cornell. Cornell is considered to be the greatest American surrealist, although he distanced himself from this label, and his art characteristically involved the assemblage of found objects. According to Mary Ann Caws, Cornell used his art as a means of virtual voyaging, recreating the Romantic tradition of the travelogue in visual form with his shadowboxes.[30] In order to create his artworks, Cornell used his photography as well as ephemera relating to various different countries and landmarks, creating eclectic combinations in an attempt to capture the essence of a place. These surreal groupings of images and objects can be compared to Mansfield's characters' subjective impressions of the wider world, particularly as they naively imagine places they have never been. In 'His Sister's Keeper' (1909), the travel posters the protagonist admires are equally intriguing and threatening, described as both 'magic hands stretched out in anticipation' and 'the mouth of some giant monster',[31] while a surreal pastiche of the traveller is explored through Mrs Stubbs's photographs in 'At the Bay':

> Mrs Stubbs sat in an arm-chair, leaning very much to one side. There was a look of mild astonishment on her large face, and well there might be. For though the arm-chair stood on a carpet, to the left of it, miraculously skirting the carpet-border, there was a dashing water-fall. On her right stood a Grecian pillar with a giant fern-tree on either side of it, and in the background towered a gaunt mountain, pale with snow.[32]

Much like the majority of Mansfield's characters, Cornell's voyages only took place virtually, as he rarely left his native New York in his lifetime. Caws suggests that Cornell's fascination with unknown places and his ability to capture the 'essence' of a place he had never visited is a testament to the primacy of the imagination.[33] However, in practical terms, Cornell's lack of travelling was due to his lack of means. Until his art began to gain recognition in the early 1950s, he lived in relative poverty, and he worked various manual jobs in addition to acting as a carer for his brother, who suffered from cerebral palsy. Another association with Mansfield is evident, as while she herself travelled extensively, many of her narratives follow characters who dream of escaping from their caring, domestic roles. The format of Cornell's shadowboxes reflects this tension, as they reveal a world that is accessible yet removed: viewers can gaze upon the scenes he creates but are unable to interact with them as they remain enclosed behind a sheet of glass. In an exhibition on Cornell

entitled ‘Wanderlust’, hosted by the Royal Academy of Arts in 2015, curator Sarah Lea likened the experience of viewing Cornell’s art to peering through a telescope, looking into a world that is present but separate.[34] As an intensely private and socially anxious individual, Cornell’s miniature worlds were representations of the real world on a more manageable scale, such as his work *Palace* (1943) in which the grandeur of the structure is condensed (fig. 21).

Fig. 21: *Palace*

The miniature worlds that exist in Cornell’s work therefore reflect both the photographic ‘studium’, as they make use of real, everyday images, and the ‘punctum’, as these are presented in unusual contexts with surreal juxtapositions, combining the photographic with physical objects. Caws explains that Cornell allowed viewers of his work to become participants in the creative process, referring to him as ‘a true master framer’ who ‘[brought] back to life in his mysterious shadow boxes all the haunting quality of nineteenth-century Romanticism – its singers, dancers and spirit. Like miniature stages, metonyms of the whole theatre of art, they invite the imaginative participation of the viewer, who is not so much an onlooker as an inlooker’.[35] As well as the theatrical connections that Caws points out, the small narratives that are evoked by Cornell’s work also have parallels to the fragmented, collage-like framing of modernist fiction. Like Cornell, Mansfield also leaves her work open to a variety of interpretations, as well as visually framing scenes from surreal, subjective angles, such as her description of animals sitting around a table in ‘At the Bay’. These ‘animals’ are subsequently revealed to be the children playing a game, yet the delayed explanation of this curious image creates a literary equivalent of the photographic ‘punctum’, as the reader is forced to challenge his or her assumptions about what is ‘real’ on a narrative level. The assemblage of miniature worlds is also explored in ‘Prelude’ and ‘At the Bay’, as Kezia collects flowers, stones and

discarded household objects and arranges them in matchboxes as a surprise for her grandmother: 'the grandmother slowly opened the box and came upon the picture inside. "Good gracious, child! How you astonished me!"'[36] Mansfield's description of the matchbox's contents as a 'picture' again attests to the visual consciousness of her fiction, as well as her desire to see pictures and patterns in the everyday. As Kezia travels around the empty house, she catalogues the discarded items she finds, taking notice of the things that have been left behind as a response to her own sense of abandonment. Significantly, Kezia also keeps track of the absences around her and envisages how these could be filled, finding 'a pill box black and shiny outside and red in' and thinking 'I could keep a bird's egg in that'.[37] Collecting bird-related ephemera was also a favourite pastime of Cornell, as evidenced in artworks like *Aviary Parrot Box with Wire Drawers* (1949) (fig. 22) and *A Parrot for Juan Gris* (1953-54) (fig. 23).

Fig. 22: *Aviary Parrot Box with Wire Drawers*

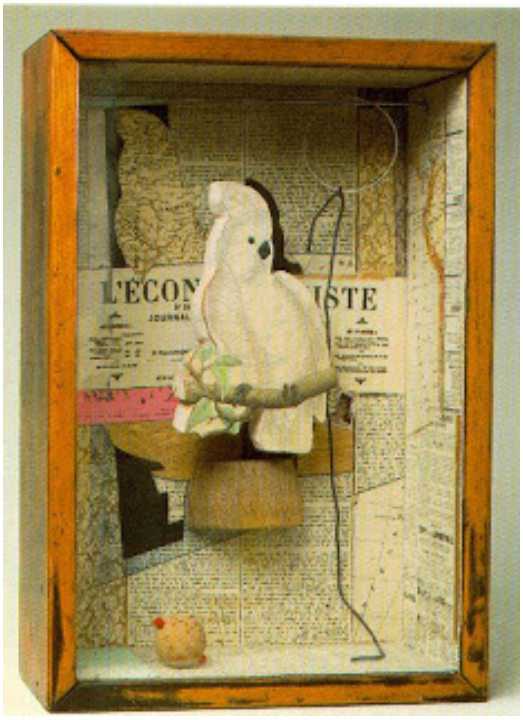

Fig. 23: *A Parrot for Juan Gris*

Kezia's desire to fill abandoned spaces and create worlds over which she has control is evoked later in 'The Doll's House', as she is fascinated by her omnipotent view into the perfectly ordered miniature household. The tension between absence and presence also anticipates Cornell's works, with his subjects including

> Hotels in which there is no dwelling over any sustained period; perches from which the birds have disappeared; games forgotten, abandoned and unplayed: Cornell evokes the strangest presence exactly when he has marked an absence. Like Eugène Atget's hauntingly still photographs of empty Paris streets and shop window displays that so

> captivated the Surrealists, Cornell's memories become our own, his transfixed desires entering our own time and space.[38]

Fig. 24: *Explosante fixe*

In Mansfield's fiction, a similar sense of solitude is evoked, as her characters see beauty in everyday objects and seek comfort and companionship through imaginative transformations.

Surrealist photography also has parallels with Mansfield's written works through the concept of the 'convulsive'. André Breton's essay 'La Beauté sera convulsive' (1934) presents a visually charged description of female beauty, examining the surreal effect created by photographs of subjects in motion. In an examination of a series of photographs taken by Surrealist artist Man Ray, Breton provides a verbal account of fast, erratic movements, paradoxically fixing both controlled and uncontrolled motion in static words (fig. 24). Caws summarises Breton's concepts of the convulsive in photography:

> Convulsion attaches, mentally, to this idea of the *explosante-fixe*, at once impossible and totally convincing. The *explosante-fixe*, an object which is both stabilized and exploding in energy; the *érotique-voilée*, the clue to perception both heavily eroticized and somehow veiled over, and the *magique circonstancielle*, the happenstance that in the essential attentiveness or state of expectation turns out to be magically significant - these three tenets are in evidence everywhere and are at the heart of the surrealist notion of lyric behaviour.[39]

Mansfield similarly explores this concept of 'lyric behaviour', creating characters who wish to express themselves and search for a meaningful existence, but remain imprisoned by social

convention. Breton's idea of the *explosante-fixe* is anticipated in Mansfield's 'Bliss', as throughout the narrative, Bertha is described as being simultaneously static and in motion. Bertha's continued suppression of her emotions results in her almost unbearable sensation of pent-up energy, as she describes 'a feeling of bliss – absolute bliss! – as though you'd suddenly swallowed a bright piece of that late afternoon sun and it burned into your bosom, sending out a little shower of sparks into every particle, into every finger and toe'.[40] While initially Bertha's 'bliss' can be interpreted as a positive emotion, it becomes increasingly clear that her inauthenticity and lack of emotional outlets are causing her extreme mental strain. Bertha is painfully conscious of how her behaviour may be perceived if she should fail to suppress her 'bliss', as she frequently observes herself from an outside perspective and polices her actions: 'while she thought like this she saw herself talking and laughing. She had to talk because of her desire to laugh. "I must laugh or die"'.[41] Barthes' comments on the inauthenticity of the photographic subject are recalled, with Bertha being forced to assume a persona that she believes will make her appear optimally attractive and socially acceptable. The potential consequences should Bertha fail to maintain her role as successful hostess, wife and mother are suggested by the images of entrapment that run throughout the text, while her fear of being considered 'drunk and disorderly'[42] causes her to physically restrain herself in order to avoid expressing emotion: 'Bertha had to dig her nails into her hands – so as not to laugh too much'.[43] Breton's concepts of the *explosante-fixe*, the *érotique-voilée* and the *magique circonstancielle* are all illustrated through the symbolic pear tree in 'Bliss', as Bertha notes that 'although it was so still it seemed, like the flame of a candle, to stretch up, to point, to quiver in the bright air, to grow taller and taller as they gazed – almost to touch the rim of the round, silver moon'.[44] Like Bertha herself, the pear tree is static yet exploding with energy, with the word 'quiver' suggesting barely suppressed motion. The *érotique-voilée* is embodied in the sensuality of the moment, with Bertha's awakening feelings of desire being mirrored in the near union between tree and moon. However, as Breton suggests, this epiphany like moment is also one of confusion – Bertha's perceived 'desire' for her husband seems more easily applicable to her feelings for Pearl, with the pear tree's suppressed fire representing Bertha herself stretching longingly towards Pearl, who is as silvery and radiant as her namesake. The sense of attentiveness and meaning that pervades this sequence in the text can be interpreted as a moment of 'magic', in Bretonian terms, yet this is rapidly thwarted as Bertha learns the truth about her husband's affair with Pearl. The narrative ends with the pear tree and its erotic potentials being removed from Bertha's reach through the barrier of the closing window, leaving her asking 'what is going to happen now?' and receiving only silence in reply.[45]

The interpretation of photographs as fetish objects is also evident through the role that photographs play in Mansfield's own romantic exchanges. In her journal in early 1915, she frequently remarks

upon the mundanity of her day to day life, and only regains her former vivacity when she reads letters from her lover, Francis Carco. In addition to letters, Mansfield and Carco occasionally exchanged photographs, and it is noteworthy that receiving these photographs has a far more profound effect on Mansfield than receiving a letter alone. On January the 23rd, she writes 'Rose went out and came back with a letter and a photograph. I came up here, and simply felt my whole body go out to him as if the sun had suddenly filled a room, warm and lovely'.[46] Mansfield's reaction to Carco's words and image epitomise Barthes' concept of the 'punctum', as she experiences an intensely emotional reaction that renders everything else in her life '1,000,000 miles away'.[47] The connection between the visual and desire is foregrounded as the photograph allows Carco's image to remain fresh in Mansfield's mind, causing her to 'see' him everywhere, much like the fictional version of Annie Beauchamp with her lost child: four days after receiving the photograph, Mansfield writes 'saw in the Strand a man in a blue coat who walks like F. Can't get him out of my mind'.[48] Interestingly, Mansfield's inspiration for her story 'Pictures' also appears in her journal on this day, as she describes a chance encounter with 'a woman who'd been in the cinema with me – her pink roses in her belt, and hollow lovely eyes and battered hair. I shall not forget her'.[49] The cinema connection, as well as the woman's faded beauty and fussy floral adornments, suggest she is a prototype for Miss Moss, searching for work in an industry that has left her behind. The perception that photographs allow for a more intimate connection than words is also evident in Mansfield's exchanges with her brother-in-law Richard Murry in 1921, as she informs him 'I now come to your Letter II containing your photograph. I love having it. You have, as Koteliansky used to say, an "extremely nice face", Richard. Being fond of you as I am I read into it all sorts of signs of the future painter… I believe they are all there'.[50] Mansfield transforms Richard's photograph into evidence, a form of visual confirmation that all of her assumptions about his character must be true. The notion that character can be determined by facial structure - a popular conception for the Victorians and Edwardians which persists at a more subconscious level today – is extremely problematic, inevitably being accompanied by various racist, classist and ageist prejudices. The role of the image as a fetish object is however enforced by Richard's photograph, with his image allowing a projected future to come into being. Mansfield's experiences with various forms of pictures during her life suggests that she was all too aware of the image's power to control, to make or break, or to engender desire.

Conversely, this desire is also accompanied by insecurity, and after Mansfield sends Carco a photograph of herself in exchange, she is wracked with self-doubt as she awaits a response, to the extent that it begins to make her physically ill and far from her usual witty and vibrant self. She writes: 'I felt so extremely ugly that I couldn't even be intelligent', and on the following day with still no response, 'feeling ill physically and extremely ugly. I shall not speak of him'.[51] Sekula's comments

on the photograph as fetish object are again relevant, as Mansfield has transformed herself into a 'sight' as a means of selling herself to her lover, yet the lack of affirmation she receives following this act of vulnerability causes her so much despair that she is rendered unable to function. It is significant that so many of the photographs mentioned in both Mansfield's fiction and private writing are sent from women to men for their appraisal, emphasising the extent to which women's appearances are used as a form of currency. In a society in which women are valued primarily in terms of their looks, the desire for affirmation of this is a powerful force. Mansfield feels she is unable to 'even be intelligent' until she receives a response from Carco, illustrating the controlling aspect of the photographic studium, which persists through 'selfie culture' in the present day: primarily a phenomenon among young women, the 'selfie' has caused photographs to take on a new significance. In one sense, these photographs are empowering, being a means for women to choose how they present themselves, taking control of the gaze of the camera and celebrating their appearances in defiance of a society that bombards them with the message that they will never be beautiful enough. On the other hand, the ease by which such images can be shared results in women's photographs and bodies being considered public property, prompting critical and abusive comments. For women, both in Mansfield's time and today, the photograph possesses an uncertain status, being simultaneously a means of taking control and being controlled by others.

The conclusion of Mansfield and Carco's exchange is a testament to the photograph's power to elicit a strong emotional response. Carco finally receives Mansfield's portrait, and it is revealed that her worries were unfounded, as it is in fact this photograph that sets the couple's illicit liaison in motion, leading to the events that Mansfield later dramatizes in 'An Indiscreet Journey'. While Carco had previously received several letters from Mansfield, it appears that the photograph has a greater impact than these, as Mansfield's brief journal entry from February the sixth reveals: 'To-day I had an urgent letter. He had just got my photograph. And he wants me to come immediately. This is going to be a very difficult business. I can see that'.[52] The extreme nature of Carco's reaction to this photograph reveals that photographs are not only a means of remembering but also a means of projecting. In this case, the photographic image as replacement for a person's physical presence takes on highly emotional qualities, becoming in a sense more desirable and more 'real' than the subject herself. According to Barthes, photography's transformation of subject into object raises questions of belonging and ownership. Barthes points out that in a society in which 'being [is] based on having',[53] it is difficult to determine who owns what, and what level of freedom an individual can truly possess: does owning a photographic portrait create a sense of ownership over its subject? In the example of Mansfield and Carco's relationship, this appears to be the case. While their relationship is more equal than the skewed power dynamics in 'Je ne parle pas français' and

'Pictures', it is significant that it is Carco who sends the 'urgent' letter demanding that Mansfield come to him 'immediately', suggesting that the relationship between images and ownership adheres to a primarily patriarchal structure.

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IV. 'I've just had some new photers taken, my dear': Class Dynamics and Ideology

In addition to their role in dynamics of ownership and desire, photographs have the power to control through their use as a means of enforcing dominant ideologies. In a discussion of the myth of photographic truth, Sturken and Cartwright suggest that 'myth is the hidden set of rules and conventions through which meanings, which are specific to certain groups, are made to seem given and universal for a whole society. Myth thus allows the connotative meaning of a particular thing or image to appear to be denotative, literal, or natural'.[54] In Mansfield's writing, several of these cultural myths are challenged: as mentioned above, Beryl in 'Prelude' self-consciously transforms herself into a 'sight', but the idea of this being a 'natural' form of behaviour is contested at the end of the narrative as Beryl realises that this aspect of her personality is entirely performative, a socially constructed image of a desirable young woman. Beryl's character draws attention to the pervasiveness of the female beauty myth: a woman is not considered truly successful in her life unless she conforms to narrow standards of beauty, and Western society's concept of 'beauty' is based on a series of social and historical constructs. In 'At the Bay', Mansfield uses images in a similar way, drawing attention to and subsequently criticising dominant ideologies and the perception of these being the 'natural order'. Firstly, photographs are presented as an attraction enjoyed primarily by the working classes, as the Burnell family's maid Alice visits her friend, the shopkeeper Mrs Stubbs, to view her 'new photers', a collection of at least 'three dozzing'.[55] As well as Mrs Stubbs herself, these photographs feature a bizarrely mismatched selection of props and backdrops, with Grecian pillars next to both a waterfall and a mountain. The incongruity of this combination of images is presented for comic effect, with Mansfield emphasising Mrs Stubbs's 'poor' taste. However, the availability of these diverse props in studio photography also hints at the desire to use photography as a means of virtual travel, as people of any class or financial background were able to insert themselves into images of far-off places. In Mansfield's work, travel is frequently a symbol of escape and luxury, and Mrs Stubbs's unlikely imagined adventures are presented as a form of highlighting her slender means. However, while Mrs Stubbs and Alice are implied to be sheltered and ignorant, both through their photographs and their colloquial speech, it is evident that characters of higher social standing have an equally limited or mediated worldview. Linda's vision of China is vague and dreamlike, based on stereotypes she has heard about a place she has never been:

she pictures a river full of 'little rafts and boats' and men with 'yellow hats' and 'high, thin voices'.[56] Beryl's imagined lover similarly reveals her naivety, as her visions are devoid of any sexual desire, and the male figure in them is always shadowy and vague: imagining how a lover will see her is more important to Beryl than his own appearance or desirability, again emphasising the heteronormative, patriarchal values Beryl has internalised. Therefore, while it is the photographs in 'At the Bay' that enforce the ideology that the working classes are naïve and tasteless, it would appear that this is another case in which images are used to make cultural myths appear natural or universal. The irony of making such generalisations based on class assumptions is emphasised at the end of the narrative: Beryl sees Alice setting off on her outing and assumes that she is heading into the bush to meet with 'some horrible common larrikin'.[57] However, it is in fact Beryl who ends up wandering into the bush with a strange man, with this mirroring between the two women emphasising that they are more similar than either would admit and exposing the double standards of class difference.

Another instance of photographs being used to enforce dominant ideologies in 'At the Bay' is the description of the photograph of Mr Stubbs, which provides interesting commentary on the institution of marriage. Sturken and Cartwright suggest that the context in which images are presented and the ways in which they are altered and framed can reveal their status as ideological rather than simply aesthetic, using O. J. Simpson's portrait on the 1994 covers of *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines as an example.[58] Simpson's mugshot is used on the magazine covers, connoting a sense of guilt, and *Time* magazine also darkened Simpson's skin tone, reinforcing the historical prejudice of black men as criminals. Before the trial had even taken place, therefore, the public was influenced to see Simpson as guilty, emphasising the power of the image to create meaning and to transform speculation into what is perceived to be fact. Mansfield draws attention to a similar use of propaganda photography in a letter to John Middleton Murry dated from May 1915: in a previous letter, he had sent her an article from the *Daily News* which included a photograph of police watching a German family's house being ransacked, to which she responds 'pretty business this german chasing – and a pity they have to photograph such decent, honest looking wretches as the belles proies [great catch]. Its a filthy trick; there's no difference between England and Germany when the mob gets a hand in things'.[59] The word 'trick' is particularly revealing here, as Mansfield implies the ease with which the photographic image can be used to manipulate public opinion and create hatred and unrest.

Mansfield explores photography in a similar manner in her fiction, as the portrait of the late Mr Stubbs is described in Alice's words as 'the life-size head and shoulders of a burly man with a dead white rose in the button-hole of his coat that made you think of a curl of cold mutting fat. Just

below, in silver letters on a red cardboard ground, were the words, "Be not afraid, it is I."'[60] The intimidating size of the portrait and its biblical caption reinforce the ideology of the patriarchal figure as God-like, with wives being expected to unquestioningly serve their husbands, even posthumously. Mansfield presents marriage as an unfortunate and often fairly gruesome fate for women, with her characters frequently being forced into marriages with disgusting, violent or animalistic men. In 'Frau Brechenmacher Attends a Wedding', the Frau and her younger counterpart Theresa both endure such husbands, as it is revealed that Theresa's new husband 'never changed his clothes once in two months',[61] while Mr Stubbs is similarly repulsive, as Alice is both intrigued and horrified by the maggot-like 'mutting fat' rose he wears and Mrs Stubbs's description of 'liquid'[62] being drawn from him during his final illness. However, in spite of these horrors, these patriarchal figures retain absolute control over their wives: as Mr Stubbs's photograph suggests, his authority is unquestionable. Returning briefly to 'Six Years After', the pervasiveness of the belief that this unequal power dynamic is 'natural' is illustrated as Harold Beauchamp ponders why he always gets his way at the expense of his wife's feelings, coming to the conclusion that 'it really was easier for her to make these sacrifices than it was for him', and that her being forced to make sacrifices is simply 'a law of marriage'.[63] It is no coincidence that Mrs Stubbs repeatedly refers to her husband's death as 'freedom',[64] while the God-like power of the photograph makes Alice feel so uncomfortable that she longs to be back in 'her own kitching',[65] a female space where Mr Stubbs' gaze cannot penetrate. The quotation 'Be not afraid, it is I' that accompanies the photograph aligns Mr Stubbs with Christ, suggesting that although Mrs Stubbs enjoys her newfound freedom, her husband still has some influence over her: like Christ, he has not truly died, with his photograph emphasising his lingering presence, as well as suggesting that this cycle of unhappy marriages will inevitably be renewed.

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Photography is invoked throughout Mansfield's writing, both as a physical process and in metaphorical terms, providing a framework with which to interpret the relationship between seeing and being. The perceived truth-value of the image is a means of accounting for the visual consciousness of modernist fiction, as demonstrated in Mansfield's writing as she searched for a new language with which to confront the 'deserts of vast eternity' that remained in a post-war world. With reference to Barthes, it is however possible to argue that this faith in photographic truth is flawed, as the photographic image is essentially subjective and determined by human agency. The inauthenticity of the photographic subject can also be considered in terms of Berger's arguments in *Ways of Seeing*: if the observation of a subject through a camera eye is a means of controlling their behaviour, the male gaze that women encounter in public spaces is a similarly invasive process.

The popularity of spirit photography in the late nineteenth century further attests to the myth of photographic truth, as well as revealing the uncanny connection between photography and death, as a moment in the subject's life is eternally preserved. The influence of spirit photography is evident in Mansfield's 'Six Years After', as images of past and present combine like a photographic double exposure, allowing the living and the dead to momentarily coexist. Mansfield's temporal distortions can also be related to the photographic experiments of Muybridge and Marey, as she provides subjective impressions of motion. When photographs appear as physical objects in Mansfield's fiction, they often provide commentary on the ways in which women are forced to objectify themselves, using their appearances as a form of currency as in 'Pictures' and 'Je ne parle pas français'. Barthes's concepts of 'studium' and 'punctum' can be applied to these photographs, as they often fail in their status as fetish objects. Comparisons can be drawn between the role of photography in Mansfield's writing and Cornell's artworks, as both Mansfield and Cornell used photography in their works as a means of virtual voyaging and escaping the domestic spaces in which they were confined. Surrealist photography can also be connected with Mansfield through a study of Breton's concept of 'convulsive beauty', with simultaneous staticity and motion as well as the mental toll of supressing emotions being discussed in 'Bliss'. Similar interrogations of women's oppression are explored through photographic motifs in 'At the Bay', as photographs are used as a means of enforcing dominant ideologies, both in terms of class divisions and the institution of marriage. Through reference to photography, Mansfield is therefore able to enhance her feminist message, exploring the negative implications of the fixation with women's appearances.

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[3] Tomalin, pp.14-15.
[4] Mansfield, *Selected Letters*, p.127.
[5] Ibid., p.127.
[6] Sturken and Cartwright, p.17.
[7] Mansfield, *Collected Letters*, Vol. III, pp.97-8.
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[9] H. G. Wells, 'The Art of Being Photographed', in *Select Conversations with an Uncle (Now Extinct)*, eds David C. Smith and Patrick Parrinder (London: University of North London Press, 1992), pp.35-38 (p.38).
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[12] Ibid., p.159.
[13] Elliot and Wallace, p.2.
[14] Henry De Vere Stacpoole, letter to Edward Gardner, qtd. in Joe Cooper 'Cottingley: At Last the Truth', *The Unexplained*, no. 117 (1982), pp. 338–40.
[15] Barthes, p.9.
[16] Mansfield, 'Six Years After', in *Collected Fiction*, Vol. II, pp.421-26, (p.423-4).

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[23] Mansfield, 'Millie', in *Collected Fiction*, Vol. I, pp.326-30, (p.326).
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[27] Allan Sekula, 'On the Invention of Photographic Meaning', in *Thinking Photography*, ed. Victor Burgin (London: Macmillan, 1982), p.94.
[28] Mansfield, 'Pictures', in *Collected Fiction*, Vol. II, pp.178-85, (p.179).
[29] Mansfield, 'Je ne parle pas français', in *Collected Fiction*, Vol. II, pp.112-36, (p.118).
[30] Mary Ann Caws, *Surrealism* (London: Phaidon Press, 2010), p.23.
[31] Mansfield, 'His Sister's Keeper', in *Collected Fiction*, Vol. I, pp.150-57, (p.150).
[32] Mansfield, 'At the Bay', p.360.
[33] Caws, p.23.
[34] Sarah Lea, 'Joseph Cornell: Wanderlust', *Royal Academy of Arts*, 4 July 2015, <https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/exhibition/joseph-cornell>
[35] Caws, p.23.
[36] Mansfield, 'Prelude', p.73.
[37] Ibid, p.59.
[38] Caws, p.23.
[39] Ibid., p.24.
[40] Mansfield, 'Bliss', p.142.
[41] Ibid., p.149.
[42] Ibid., p.142.
[43] Ibid., p.149.
[44] Ibid., p.149.
[45] Ibid., p.152.
[46] Mansfield, *Journal of Katherine Mansfield*, ed. John Middleton Murry (London: Constable, 1984), p.71.
[47] Ibid., p.71.
[48] Ibid., p.72.
[49] Ibid., p.72.
[50] Mansfield, *Selected Letters*, p.197.
[51] Mansfield, *Journal*, p.72.
[52] Ibid., p.73.
[53] Barthes, p.13.
[54] Sturken and Cartwright, p.20.
[55] Mansfield, 'At the Bay', p.360.
[56] Ibid., p.354.
[57] Ibid., p.359.
[58] Sturken and Cartwright, p.27.
[59] Mansfield, *Selected Letters*, p.33.
[60] Mansfield, 'At the Bay', p.361.
[61] Mansfield, 'Frau Brechenmacher Attends a Wedding', p.187.
[62] Mansfield, 'At the Bay', p.361.
[63] Mansfield, 'Six Years After', pp.421-2.
[64] Mansfield, 'At the Bay', p.361.
[65] Ibid., p.361.

Chapter 3: 'Into Unknown Country': The Visual Consciousness of Mansfield's Journeys

Although many new forms of art and entertainment were developed in response to the nineteenth century fascination with visuality, another significant event in moving image history was the invention of new high-speed forms of transport. Transport and travelling were key components of the modern experience – Pound's famous cry to 'make it new' can be juxtaposed with his assertion that 'transportation is civilisation', as new technologies allowed for an expansion of the world, and thus, an expansion of human experience.[1] In 1830, transport technologies were revolutionised with the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, which was the first train line to transport passengers, leading to the rapid development of similar rail services across Europe. As well as being the fastest and easiest method of transport in history, the railways also provided a sensory experience unlike anything in the realms of previous human experience. In his article 'Contemporary Achievements in Painting' (1914), Fernand Léger noted the influence of rail travel on perception, writing 'The condensation of the modern picture, its variety, its breaking up of forms, are the result of all this. It is certain that the evolution of means of locomotion, and their speed, have something to do with the new way of seeing'.[2] In nineteenth century accounts of rail travel, trains were frequently described as 'projectiles'[3] due to their speed and power, and early travel writing draws particular attention to the disorientating effects of this new visual experience. In an anonymous essay dating from 1844, the writer laments that 'in travelling on most of the railways, the face of nature, the beautiful prospects of hill and dale, are lost or distorted to our view'.[4] However, Victor Hugo took a more positive view of the railway's sensory distortions, embracing the uniqueness of this new phenomenon: 'The flowers by the side of the road are no longer flowers but flecks, or rather streaks, of red or white; […] the towns, the steeples, and the trees perform a crazy mingling dance on the horizon; from time to time, a shadow, a shape, a spectre appears and disappears with lightning speed behind the window: it's a railway guard'.[5] The interpretation of travel in terms of visual art and entertainment is evident in Hugo's account: his glimpses of the flowers suggests the rapid brushwork of Impressionist painting, while the dancing landmarks and ghostly railway guards present the railway journey as a pantomime-like theatrical performance.

Mansfield displays a similar fascination with the visuality of high-speed travel in her fiction, providing subjective accounts of the surreal visual distortions that her characters experience as they travel by boat, train or car. Her stories are often cinematically focalized through the window of a vehicle, providing a screen-like view of a world in motion. Mansfield's repeated references to the act of journeying can also be related to her interest in liminal spaces. The word 'liminal' comes from the Latin 'limen', referring to a boundary or threshold, and Claire Drewery defines the liminal as 'a

fleeting sense of being that renders all who experience it temporarily outside the strictures of social convention and the norms of measured space and time'.[6] The journey is therefore particularly associated with liminality, situating the traveller in a place of transition and allowing for psychological as well as physical movements. The lack of a fixed sense of home that Mansfield experienced throughout her life allowed for an acute awareness of the liminal: Vincent O'Sullivan refers to Mansfield's works as 'reports from a front whose position is seldom fixed'. According to O'Sullivan, Mansfield 'speaks for the *femme seule* of her fiction, the mind that finds itself on the edge of things, its expectations already tinged with anticipated regret. It is the voice of the invalid and the stranger, of railway stations and temporary lodgings, brief acquaintances and altered plans, waiting rooms and cafes'.[7] In this chapter, I will demonstrate the visuality of Mansfield's fiction, and the ways by which this visual style was inspired by the new technology of rail travel, as it changed the ways in which the modern world was perceived. Section one considers the concept of a 'mobilized virtual gaze' through a close reading of two of Mansfield's short stories, 'An Indiscreet Journey' and 'The Little Governess'. The subjective visuals in both of these narratives allow Mansfield to explore the journey as a rite of passage, as the naivety of the protagonists is revealed through the way in which they interpret the scenes they perceive. Next, I will provide a brief study of the journey as it is depicted in Impressionist painting and cinema, demonstrating the innovative qualities of new high-speed forms of transport. This discussion continues in section three, as I draw on Wolfgang Schivelbusch's *The Railway Journey* in order to explore the ways in which rail travel altered cultural perceptions of time and space. In the works of Mansfield as well as other modernist writers, the journey is often used as a catalyst for temporal distortions, allowing characters to experience immersive visual flashbacks. My next section examines the journey as a liminal space, relating travel to Mansfield's own sense of exile. I propose that this experience of marginality and homelessness is particularly relevant to women's writing, as women attempted to establish a unique literary voice in a male-dominated medium. Finally, I consider authenticity and the existential journey in 'Je ne parle pas français', as well as returning to 'An Indiscreet Journey' in order to review the way in which the journey has altered the protagonist's subjective impressions.

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I. The Mobilized Virtual Gaze: Cinematic Perception in 'An Indiscreet Journey' and 'The Little Governess'

The visual parallels between rail travel and turn of the century popular entertainment are illustrated in Mansfield's short story 'An Indiscreet Journey' (1915), which recounts a young English woman's travelling experiences at the outset of the Great War, as she illicitly journeys to meet her

sweetheart, a soldier stationed in a French village. Mansfield provides a subjective account of rail travel from the narrator's perspective, with her journey being mediated through the camera eye of her 'mobilized virtual gaze', to use Anne Friedberg's terms.[8] The window of the train takes on a screen-like role as the narrator transforms the people she passes into performers and the scenery into elaborate stage sets, setting herself apart from the trials of a country preparing for war and creating the impression that the French countryside and its inhabitants exist solely for her entertainment. In his study of the impact of railways on nineteenth-century thought, Wolfgang Schivelbusch discusses the effect of this new transport technology on human perception, suggesting that many early accounts of rail travel are comparable to the visual effect of the moving panorama, a popular form of entertainment that provided audiences with an immersive and changing visual space. These studies reveal the fascination with intermediality during this time, as writers strove to find a new language to describe the visual sensations that these technological innovations brought about in words. Schivelbusch quotes from Benjamin Gastineau's *La Vie en Chemin de Fer* (1861), in which he states:

> Devouring distance at the rate of fifteen leagues an hour, the steam engine, that powerful stage manager, throws the switches, changes the décor, and shifts the point of view every moment; in quick succession it presents the astonished traveller with happy scenes, sad scenes, burlesque interludes, brilliant fireworks, all visions that disappear as soon as they are seen; it sets in motion nature clad in all its light and dark costumes, showing us skeletons and lovers, clouds and rays of light, happy vistas and sombre views, nuptials, baptisms, and cemeteries.[9]

This comparison of landscapes seen from a mobilized perspective to choreographed shows is particularly apparent in 'An Indiscreet Journey', as the soldiers the narrator sees through the window seem self-consciously aware of spectators, watching the train passing 'as though they expected at least one camera at every window'.[10] Another soldier is described as 'like a little comic picture'[11], implying that the soldiers have been set up in staged vignettes for the public eye rather than being real people. The later image of them marching, 'winking red and blue in the light'[12], is similarly suggestive of an advertisement rather than a realistic scene, reflecting common wartime propaganda imagery used on posters and in film. Mansfield presents the story from the narrator's perspective, suggesting that for the average British citizen, the realities of war would be transformed into marketable images, converting horrific violence into scenes of heroism and glory. The subjectivity of the narrator's impressions also allows for her emotions to be visually depicted, as she interprets the Red Cross hospital sheds she passes as 'rigged-up dancing halls or seaside pavilions'

and describes the cemeteries as 'beautiful' and 'gay'.[13] Mansfield uses these absurd comparisons as a satirical indication of her character's excitement over her adventure, as well as a means of demonstrating that despite her aspirations to worldliness, the narrator is sheltered and naïve, childishly treating her illegal and potentially dangerous journey as a holiday. According to Daniel Katz, this type of encounter with the foreign or the unfamiliar is a form of translation, as the narrator transposes the unfamiliar images of war and death that she is confronted with into the domestic and familiar, visually translating the scenes she witnesses to mirror her own desires.[14]

Similar subjective impressions of the liminal journey appear in 'The Little Governess' (1915), which also recounts a young woman's travels through Europe - although in a pre-Great War setting in this case - as a governess moves from England to Germany to meet her new employer. As in 'An Indiscreet Journey', the governess's journey is a rite of passage from innocence to experience, with the story providing an even bleaker assessment of the ways in which women are viewed by society. An aspect of this story that is often overlooked, however, is its presentation of a character's first experience of high-speed travel, recalling the accounts of this bewildering new visual sensation to which Schivelbusch draws attention. Mansfield's translation of the acuity of the visual process into words is again evident here, as the governess sees people as blurs of colour which gradually gain clarity as the train slows, much like Hugo's interpretation of flowers as 'flecks' and 'streaks'. The descriptions move from Impressionistic details as the train travels at speed, like 'a woman with black hair and a white shawl' or a glimpse of a colourful blanket as it is 'flung across a window frame', to detailed close-ups of flowers in the station as the train comes to a stop.[15] The visual distortion that comes with viewing a scene from a mobile perspective recurs throughout Mansfield's stories: the protagonist of 'An Indiscreet Journey' watches as lampposts 'sw[i]m past the train',[16] while the physicality of high-speed travel is suggested in 'Something Childish but very Natural' (1914) as the train leaves London and 'flings behind the rooftops and chimneys'.[17] It is interesting to note that a theme common to all of these accounts is the fluidity of interior and exterior: the governess too experiences the curious sensation that she is static while the outside world is moving, watching houses 'glide by'.[18] This perceived static viewing experience again demonstrates the connection between rail travel and cinematicity in modernist thought, with the governess's sequential descriptions of each new scene that appears before her recalling Gastineau's description of the railway journey as a series of theatrical vignettes. A cinematic account of travelling by train also appears in a letter from Mansfield to Murry, in which she writes 'and then the rain stopped, the cows began to fatten, the houses had broad eaves, the women at the bookstalls got broader & broader & it was Switzerland'.[19] The sensation of a static viewing experience is again suggested, as the scenery around Mansfield is affected by a trick film-like effect of accelerated growth. In her

essay on the cinematicity of Mansfield's fiction, Sarah Sandley draws attention to both the railway journey and the use of fragmented scenes as examples of the visual consciousness of the short stories. Sandley describes Mansfield's fiction as being 'structured as episodic, filmic vignettes – the action moves forward in an often discontinuous manner, switching from one scene, time and place to another, with the added sensation of speed and movement, often by train, and the drama of darkness and light'.[20] This intermedial translation from cinematic image to written word emphasises the liminal status of Mansfield's fiction, as she draws influence from a variety of art forms.

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II. The Journey in Modern Art and Popular Entertainment

In addition to its cinematic affinities, the mobilized virtual gaze is also comparable to techniques employed by Impressionist painters. Young Sun Choi refers to this mobilized gaze in Mansfield's fiction as 'the flexible mobile viewpoint', as Mansfield impressionistically experiments with perspective and spatial and temporal movement.[21] Choi compares Mansfield's writing to paintings like Degas's *Place de la Concorde* (1875), as the off-centre framing and unconventional perspective on the figures in the painting create 'a sense of spatial and psychological uncertainty'.[22] Mansfield creates similar moments of uncertainty in her fiction as she describes physical objects from the subjective perspective of her characters: in 'Feuille d'Album' (1917), Ian French sees the street below his window from an aerial perspective, with 'the tops of huge umbrellas, with frills of bright flowers escaping them' and old women who 'scuttled from side to side, like crabs'[23], while in 'Sun and Moon' (1918), a child's perspective on the world is represented as Moon interprets men carrying flowerpots as 'funny awfully nice hats nodding up the path'.[24] Mansfield's desire to capture a mobile perspective in words can also be linked to the paintings of Charles-François Daubigny, an Impressionist artist who developed a mobilized form of *en plein air* painting. In 1857, Daubigny converted an old ferry boat into a floating studio and travelled along the Seine, the Marne and the Oise, observing these rivers from an unusual midstream perspective. Monet was inspired by Daubigny, acquiring a similar studio-boat in the 1870s on which he explored the views and visual phenomena of the Seine. Keith Cohen suggests that Daubigny's paintings can be read as an early form of cinematicity, as he attempted to capture motion in a still image:

> In this case, the painter became more critically subject to the flux outside him, participating, by virtue of the instability of his own spatial coordinates, […] in the constantly changing scene before him. Daubigny's boat might thus be considered an emblem of the Impressionists' desire to capture nature *dans le vif*, to put

> themselves on the same level as those dubious or ambiguous natural objects which, like light, mist, and air, define the space of other objects while resisting precise spatial definition themselves, and, by recording the effects of these elements to reembody in their paintings both nature and its processes.[25]

Daubigny's unstable spatial coordinates can be related to Mansfield's own sense of instability, both as an exile from her country of birth and as a woman writer attempting to establish a literary voice in an enduringly patriarchal society. Her choice to situate so many of her narratives in liminal spaces and times – a journey by boat or train, a chance meeting, a departure from a childhood home – can be read as an attempt to capture her own search for a sense of belonging. Much like the protagonist of 'An Indiscreet Journey', Mansfield experiences travel as a form of freedom, writing in her journal 'there is something inexpressibly charming to me in railway travelling. I lean out of the window, the breeze blows, buffeting and friendly, and the child spirit, hidden away under a hundred and one grey city wrappings, bursts its bonds, and exults within me'.[26] While many of Mansfield's later accounts of travel focus on its dangers, particularly for women travelling alone, she also emphasises the pleasurable side of travel and its ability to break down boundaries of time, returning her momentarily to a carefree, childlike state. For many modernist writers, the search for a sense of belonging in a world that seemed increasingly devoid of reason and emotional warmth resulted in this restless desire for movement: for expatriates and exiles in particular, the journey provided a moment of hope that perhaps this time home can be reached at the journey's end.

A similar flexible viewpoint appears in Mansfield's later story 'The Voyage' (1921), in which the liminal states of adolescence, travel and death – all 'transitional times'[27] in the words of Drewery – combine as the young protagonist Fenella is sent to live with her grandparents following the death of her mother. As with the governess' journey, the strangeness of Fenella's voyage is emphasised by its nocturnal setting, and the fragmentation of the faces of the 'dark men'[28]on the ship suggest that the certainties of her old life are breaking apart. The lighting effects in both stories anticipate chiaroscuro effects in film, in which intense, angular shadows were used to express emotion, a visual effect which was in turn adapted from the literary narrative methods of Gothic fiction. In a letter to novelist William Gerhardi, Mansfield describes her writing as a visually immersive process, mentioning 'The Voyage' as a story with which she experienced a particularly strong emotional connection:

> When I wrote that little story I felt I was on that very boat, going down those stairs, smelling the smell of the saloon. And when the stewardess came in and said, 'We're rather empty, we may pitch a little,' I can't believe that my sofa did

> not pitch. And one moment I had a little bun of silk-white hair and a bonnet and the next I was Fenella hugging the swan neck umbrella. […] It wasn't a memory of a real experience. It was a kind of *possession*.[29]

It is interesting to note that Mansfield experiences this sensation of physical immersion in narratives that feature characters who are travelling: although she denies that 'The Voyage' is based on her own memories, she is nonetheless intimately familiar with the visual experience of the journey. This immersive, multisensory experience relates to the popularity of travel as a subject in early film: trains heralded the beginning of the new art form with the Lumière brothers' *L'Arrivée d'un train en gare de La Ciotat* (1895) which famously shocked viewers who were unused to the realistic illusions created by moving pictures. The fascination with travel movies was attested to by the ubiquity of the phantom ride, a genre of film which featured footage shot from the front of a moving train. In 1906, this technology reached its height of popularity when American inventor George C. Hale set up Hale's Tours of the World, a travelling fairground attraction which can be regarded as one of the first simulators. Audiences sat in rows as if in a train carriage, facing a screen on which phantom ride footage was played (fig. 25). The seats were also designed to rock, and fans and sound effects were used in order to recreate an immersive experience of train travel (fig. 26).

Fig. 25: *The Inside of a Hale's Tours Carriage*

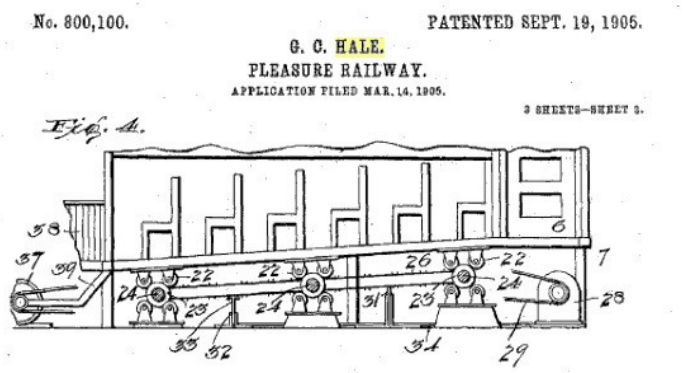

Fig. 26: *G. C. Hale Pleasure Railway Patent*

The railway is also the subject of one of the first known examples of continuity editing in film, in British filmmaker George Albert Smith's *The Kiss in the Tunnel* (1899), which cuts from phantom ride footage of a train entering a tunnel to an interior shot of a couple using the sudden cover of darkness as an opportunity to share a kiss. While not seeming particularly sophisticated today, this use of editing to create a narrative was particularly innovative, as most films at this time consisted of a single, continuous shot from a static camera, while editing techniques like crosscutting and establishing shots did not yet exist. The cut from the exterior shot of the train to the interior therefore required the audience to make a mental leap, as the language of film that a modern-day

spectator would be familiar with had not yet been established. *The Kiss in the Tunnel* was owned by distribution agency the Warwick Trading Company, who advised that Smith's shot of the kiss should be added into all train movie footage to add extra excitement for the audience.

Fig. 27: *The Irritating Gentleman*

While Smith's movie is clearly light-hearted, it does however draw attention to the darker side of rail travel. While trains gave both women and men new freedom to travel and move from place to place, the level of this freedom was gender-based, with 'The Little Governess' and other works from this period pointing out that the train was not always a safe space for women. Berthold Woltze's painting *The Irritating Gentleman* (1874) illustrates the extent to which women are objectified, with the subject of the painting receiving unwanted male attention despite her being dressed in mourning clothes (fig. 27). Much like with Mansfield's governess, the young woman's personhood and obvious personal tragedy are ignored as her fellow passenger views her only in sexual terms. News stories from this period also feature disturbingly frequent reports of women being attacked on trains, particularly on the London-Brighton line which became notorious due to its high number of tunnels, with several cases of men being charged with assault or attempted murder of lone female travellers. It appears that a further modern aspect of the train is its liminal status, being simultaneously a public and private space. While in theory a train carriage is a safe, public place where women are free to go unescorted, its enclosed nature creates a sense of intimacy that may easily be exploited, particularly in a society in which women are socialised to be polite and respectful to men in any circumstance.

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III. Journeys Through Time and Space

Returning to Schivelbusch's study, a further change brought about by rail travel was its potential to alter cultural perceptions of the space-time continuum. Schivelbusch notes that the time spent getting from A to B is not objective, but rather a subjective understanding of space-time, and the new, faster transport provided by the railways therefore resulted in a perceived shrinkage of both time and space. Paradoxically, this spatial diminution could simultaneously be interpreted as an expansion, as the new technology of rail travel made distant places more easily accessible, answering the imperialist late nineteenth-century drive to domesticate the foreign.[30] In a reflection on the effects of the railways on the modern consciousness, Heinrich Heine addressed the paradox of time and space, asking

> What changes must now occur, in our way of looking at things, in our notions! Even the elementary concepts of time and space have begun to vacillate. Space is killed by the railways, and we are left with time alone […] I feel as if the mountains and forests of all countries were advancing on Paris. Even now, I can smell the German linden trees; the North Sea's breakers are rolling against my door'.[31]

It is interesting to note that Heine described this change in visual terms, suggesting that the railway will change 'our way of looking'; it seems that the privileging of the visual over other sensory information was evident from as early as the 1840s. Heine's description of this spatial shrinkage also anticipates a later first impression of another new technology: namely, Woolf's 1926 essay on the cinema. In spite of the obvious differences between the railway and the cinema, it seems that their impact on vision and perception are strikingly similar. Woolf's account echoes Heine's as she imagines the potentials of the new medium, suggesting that 'The most fantastic contrasts could be flashed before us with a speed which the writer can only toil after in vain. The past could be unrolled, distances could be annihilated'.[32] In addition to this changed perception of space, Woolf also suggests that the first-time cinemagoer experienced a similar temporal distortion to early train travellers, as she describes the disorientation she feels on discovering that the events onscreen occurred ten years in the past: 'We are beholding a world which has gone beneath the waves'.[33] The railway journey as a form of time travel also appeared in a magic lantern lecture in 1892, as lanternist C. W. Scrimgeour described a slide of a train travelling from Naples to Pompeii. According to Scrimgeour, 'this railway is said to be a railway from the twentieth century back to the first'.[34]

In Mansfield's fiction, she similarly discusses the ways in which the act of travelling has the ability to change one's experiential relationship with time. In her 1911 short story 'The Journey to Bruges', she notes that 'in the shortest sea voyage there is no sense of time. You have been down in the cabin for days or years. Nobody knows or cares…'[35] The influence of new transport and filmic technologies on cultural perceptions of time and space is a theme commonly explored in modernist fiction. The fragmentation and lack of linear chronology that characterises the works of this period point to a move towards a non-Euclidean understanding of space-time, replacing the concretized narrative with a new fiction in flux. The concept of fiction in flux relates to Samuel Johnson's definition of translation as transposition.[36] Transposition is defined as the act of moving people or objects from one place to another, and this can equally be applied to the relocation of literary works and their intermedial translations.[37] In Mansfield's works, the notion of existing between languages, cultures and places is a repeated theme, often illustrated through her characters' visual transpositions through time and space. An example of this spatial and temporal distortion occurs in 'An Indiscreet Journey': as the narrator reaches for her Burberry overcoat, she appears to have physically returned to the moment when she first saw the coat in her friend's home. Mansfield writes, 'My eye lighted upon it hanging in her little dark hall. The very thing! The perfect and adequate disguise – an old Burberry'.[38] Interestingly, this cinematic flashback effect is not exclusive to Mansfield, with similar scenes appearing in the works of her contemporaries: Joyce's Eveline hears the music of a street organist and has the sensation that 'she was again in that close dark room'[39] by her mother's deathbed, while Woolf's Rachel Vinrace of *The Voyage Out* (1915) is similarly displaced to the moment of her mother's death when the scent of broom is mentioned, causing her to 'see' her aunt assembling funereal flower arrangements.[40] The connection between these involuntary memories is that all three have a sensory trigger – the sight of the Burberry, the sound of the organ, the scent of the flowers – again emphasising the cinematicity of this effect. As Woolf points out, the use of such a leitmotif in film allows for boundaries of space and time to be effortlessly transcended: 'We should have the continuity of human life kept before us by the repetition of some object common to both lives'.[41]

Another similarity between Eveline, Rachel and Mansfield's protagonist is that all three are young women who are poised at the outset of a life-changing journey. It is possible that it is the act of journeying itself, or the anticipation of journeying in Eveline's case, that allows for these characters' fluidity of consciousness: although they are physically static while experiencing their immersive memories, the disruption of the journey allows the boundaries of space and time to break down. In *Modernist Short Fiction by Women* (2011), Claire Drewery suggests that travel is a movement 'out of the normal parameters of life […] into a different, other, world', adding that 'the journey, embodying

linear, physical and also spiritual attributes, thus represents the "interspace" of consciousness in an interlude of spatial and temporal transition'.[42] The term 'interspace' here is again suggestive of intermedial translation, with the translation process being interpreted as a liminal space or a space of mediation. Shirley Chew and Alistair Stead draw attention to the connection between translation and travel, stating 'semantic transportation, whether active or passive, may be easily correlated to the literal or transferred senses of the migration of writers or characters, underlining the point that […] translation under consideration may be the activity of the writer or the projected character, or both, and bringing to the fore the potentiality for cultural resignification'.[43] However, the ripe potentials for both this resignification and the spiritual insights that Drewery implies the journey brings about are often thwarted in modernist fiction. All three journeys in the above examples have a negative outcome: in a classic example of paralysis which is the controlling force in the lives of Joyce's Dubliners, Eveline does not make it on to the ship that would provide her with an escape from her father's tyranny; her way is blocked by railings. Rachel's journey is both physical and metaphorical, as she travels from London to South America while simultaneously beginning her transformation from a primitive creature from the 'bottom of the sea'[44], in the words of her mentor Helen, to a desirable society lady. Both of these journeys also prematurely come to an end, as Rachel's illness causes her to regress to her pre-human state, which critics like Alex Zwerdling however do interpret as a message of empowerment, representing Rachel's rejection of the socially acceptable persona that has been forced upon her.[45] In 'An Indiscreet Journey', the protagonist undergoes a similar rite of passage from innocence to experience, and while she reaches her physical destination, her naïve interpretation of her journey as a romantic holiday is swiftly crushed as she comes face to face with the reality of war. It would appear that in modernist fiction, the journey is not always a route to positive change, instead resulting in paralysis, alienation and death.

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IV. 'Lost in Translation': Marginality, Exile and Liminal Space

As well as presenting the individual rite of passage, the journey in Mansfield's fiction is also representative of social change on a larger scale. In literature and the arts, the railway was commonly used as a symbol of this changing world order: according to Schivelbusch, trains are a key feature of modernity, representing the visible presence of technology in the everyday, public domain. Sociologist Zygmunt Bauman also associates the railway with modernity, noting that 'it is precisely the endemic inconclusivity of effort that makes the life of continuous restlessness both feasible and inescapable', and any moment of calm in this relentless march towards progress 'is but a temporary station'.[46] The symbolic qualities of the railway were explored in Impressionist painting,

such as Monet's series of paintings of the Gare Saint-Lazare, exhibited at the third Impressionist exhibition in 1877, which rendered the industrial as ethereal (fig. 28). In many of the paintings, the solidity of the locomotive seems to dissolve: traditional modelling and perspective are replaced by ephemerality and a sense of movement, suggesting that in an uncertain modern world, nothing can remain fixed. Turner's *Rain, Steam and Speed – The Great Western Railway* (1844) similarly presents the railway journey as a transitory state, as the dark, severely-outlined train seems to carve a path through a dreamlike landscape, crossing the liminal space of a bridge between city and countryside (fig. 29).

Fig. 28: *The Gare Saint-Lazare*

Fig. 29: *Rain, Steam and Speed*

As well as connecting different physical spaces, the railway acted as a pathway between times: as Schivelbusch points out, 'thus the physical experience of technology mediated consciousness of the emerging social order; it gave a form to a revolutionary rupture with past forms of experience, of social order, of human relation'.[47] This transition in human experience is explored throughout Mansfield's oeuvre, with the railway setting of 'An Indiscreet Journey' providing an ideal metaphor for a risky journey from older propriety to more modern and liberal beliefs. Mansfield allows a sensation of guilt to permeate the holiday-like atmosphere of the narrative through use of a filmic device, as the narrator imagines a decorative seagull on another passenger's hat becoming alive. The movement of the seagull is comparable to the visual effects of early trick films, in which inanimate objects appeared to come to life, often for comic effect or to suggest a supernatural presence. While the seagull's animation fits in with the flippant and comical tone of the first half of the story, it also marks a transition to the more serious undertones of the second half. As the woman who wears the seagull hat interrogates the narrator, it becomes increasingly obvious that she suspects the purpose of the narrator's 'indiscreet journey'. In one of the narrative's many instances of converting word into image, the narrator's increasing guilt is amplified as she begins to imagine the seagull echoing the woman's words in a more direct and condemning manner. This object animation is also

employed by Joyce in his fiction as a visual representation of guilt, often regarding sexual desire, such as in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916) when Stephen sees words on the page of his schoolbook blossoming into an exotic, peacock-tailed creature with many interrogative eyes. Mansfield creates a similar effect of scrutinization with the seagull, as the narrator is subjected to its gaze: 'Its round eyes, fixed on me so inquiringly, were almost too much to bear. I had a dreadful impulse to shoo it away.'[48] The seagull, like the train, is therefore representative of Mansfield's liminality: in spite of the free-spirited nature of the narrator, there is still tension between her personal beliefs and her deeper, internalized beliefs regarding women's roles.

This sensation of in-betweenness is of course also relevant to Mansfield's own experiences, both of being an expatriate writer and a sexually liberated, bisexual woman in a time in which Victorian morality still endured. The events in 'An Indiscreet Journey' are autobiographical, as Mansfield travelled into the French warzone in 1915 to visit writer Francis Carco, with whom she was briefly infatuated, and it is likely that she experienced similar conflict to her protagonist in her attempts to reconcile the freedom of her bohemian adult life and the Victorian values of her childhood and family. Angela Smith draws attention to a dream described in Mansfield's journal which illustrates this sensation of duality, in which Mansfield meets Oscar Wilde and invites him to her family home, yet instantly regrets the decision: 'When I arrived home it seemed madness to have asked him. Father & Mother were in bed. What if Father came down & found that chap Wilde in one of the chintz armchairs?'[49] The pressure of leading a double life clearly invades Mansfield's unconscious, just as the seagull in 'An Indiscreet Journey' is a manifestation of her character's unconscious fears. Mansfield's experiences of duality can also be linked to a deeper sense of dividedness, as she was never truly at home in either New Zealand or England. Her status as an outsider reflects Julia Kristeva's arguments in 'Strangers to Ourselves', in which she defines the foreigner or exile as being characterised by 'lost origin, the impossibility to take root, a rummaging memory, the present in abeyance. The space of the foreigner is a moving train, a plane in flight, the very transition that precludes stopping. As to landmarks, there are none'.[50] Both the sensation of rootlessness and the inability to stop travelling were defining characteristics of Mansfield's existence: in the words of Eva Hoffmann, she spent a life 'lost in translation'.[51] In his study on expatriate American modernists, Katz suggests that the modern traveller or 'cosmopolite' – a term borrowed from Henry James – has lost the ability to feel at home anywhere, 'including and above all in his or her originary "home"'.[52] This idea of sociocultural homelessness is relevant to Mansfield's own sense of exile: like James's cosmopolite, her constant travels never brought her closer to the sense of belonging that she sought. In her journal, she describes herself as being 'sick at heart, till I am physically sick – with no home, no place in which I can hang up my hat and say here I belong, for there is no such place in the

wide world for me'.[53] This outsider status can potentially be traced back to Mansfield's childhood, as colonial New Zealand culture was itself a translated form of Englishness. As stories like 'The Garden Party' explore, with the Sheridan family's determination to uphold upper-class English values and fashions in spite of the incongruity of their surroundings, the speech and culture of New Zealand society are not their own, but rather a mimicry of a different society. Katz posits that this translated sense of homeland leads to uncertainty and exile: 'How does one live when one's language is itself a "translation," when the native tongue has been separated from its conditions of nativity?'[54]

The notion of being lost in translation is also a state that has particular associations with women's writing and experiences. Chew and Stead suggest that 'translation is often the conscious subject of women's writing', with many female authors and their female characters using translation as a means of subverting patriarchal culture.[55] Through the act of writing, women partake in an act of border crossing between 'masculine' and 'feminine' literary subjects, translating male-established literary conventions into a female literary voice. This sense of translation is particularly applicable to modernist women writers, as around the turn of the century, the number of middle class women with the time, education and social freedom to be able to create and publish works of fiction was dramatically on the rise, thus providing the greatest historical challenge to the 'masculine' language of the narrative. In spite of this shift towards a greater sense of creative freedom, however, a significant majority of works by modernist women tackle issues of exclusion and marginality. Drewery argues that the consciousness and exploration of liminality is a connecting theme across modernist women's fiction, with these works sharing a common 'acute awareness of shifting transient states, exclusionary categories, marginality and superfluity as conditions which are intimately tied to women's subjectivities'.[56] It would be difficult to find a writer to whom these words more directly apply: the vast majority of Mansfield's stories present women at moments of transition, or women who have been driven to the margins of society by their age, sexuality, or failure to conform to expected social roles.

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V. Authenticity and the Existential Journey in 'Je ne parle pas français' and 'An Indiscreet Journey'

Miroslawa Kubasiewicz points out that existential crises occur constantly in the short stories as well as in Mansfield's personal life, with the themes of alienation, death, and the search for a true or authentic self being at the forefront of all of her writing. However, as Mansfield illustrates in her fiction, such an 'authentic existence' is impossible to maintain, as characters are only able to obtain brief insights – or 'moments of being', in the words of Woolf – during which the performative nature

of their identities are revealed, before returning to the everyday routine of their lives. Kubasiewicz suggests that this reliance on routine is essential to the human condition. The realisation of the transitory nature and impermanence of human life and the responsibility of the individual to attribute meaning to his or her own existence generates anxiety, the only escape from which is performing everyday rituals.[57] As a consequence of this, we tend to unquestioningly accept the behavioural codes of the society in which we live, performing socially dictated roles within this system. In the words of Heidegger,

> We enjoy ourselves and have fun the way they enjoy themselves. We read, see, and judge literature and art the way they see and judge. But we also withdraw from the 'great mass' the way they withdraw, we find 'shocking' what they find shocking. The they, which is nothing definite and which we all are, though not as a sum, prescribes the kind of being of everydayness.[58]

In other words, therefore, in order to gain any meaningful realisation about life and identity, it is necessary to resist this retreat into everydayness and acknowledge the extent to which our beliefs and behaviours are conditioned by society.

Mansfield's 'moments of being' are therefore innovative not only for their revelation of narrative 'truth', but also because they represent a moment of authenticity for her characters. These revelatory moments are normally triggered by an extreme situation that forces the character out of his or her comfort zone, such as in 'Bliss', as Bertha is able to suppress her anxieties or reinterpret them as positive emotions by retreating into socially circumscribed behavioural patterns in her various roles as modern wife, young mother, and fashionable society hostess. However, the extreme situation at the end of the story when she discovers her husband's infidelity destroys the everyday world that she has constructed for herself, allowing her to realise the inauthenticity of her own life and momentarily see herself from a new perspective. Similar existential crises appear in 'Miss Brill', as Miss Brill's naïve view of herself as an integral part of the crowd is destroyed and she sees that she too has become one of the strange old people she previously mocked; as well as in 'The Daughters of the Late Colonel', as the eponymous daughters are forced to re-evaluate their purpose in life following the death of their father, around whom they had entirely built their identities. Perhaps the most well-known example of the identity crisis in Mansfield's oeuvre appears in 'Prelude', as Beryl struggles to reconcile her 'true' and 'false' selves, fluctuating between pride in her role as charming society beauty and moments of clarity during which she is disgusted by her inauthenticity.

As discussed in chapter six, Beryl's struggle for an authentic existence is presented visually, through her sense of disconnection from her reflection in the mirror. However, both this mirror motif and interpretations of the journey appear in Mansfield's later short story, 'Je ne parle pas français'. The story is told from a first-person perspective through its protagonist Raoul Duquette, a young Parisian who epitomises the inauthentic existence. At first glance, Raoul's opening metaphor, in which he compares people to 'portmanteaux' awaiting the 'Ultimate Porter' and a final journey on the 'Ultimate Train'[59] appears to be existential, with Raoul taking pride in his realisation of the transitory nature of existence and his blasé acceptance of death. However, Kubasiewicz points out that in the context of the story, this ultimate metaphor fails, as the realisation of the nature of human existence involves not only an acceptance of death but also an assuming of responsibility of endowing one's own life with sense and meaning. Raoul fails to do this as he refuses to acknowledge his true self, instead hiding behind a series of constructed roles and identities.[60]

While 'Je ne parle pas français' opens with Raoul assuming his writerly persona, this is rapidly revealed to be inauthentic as the narrative progresses. Raoul makes the effort to visually inhabit the role of young writer, with the importance of costume and props being a theme throughout the story: he wears expensive and ostentatious clothing in an attempt to look the part, drinks whisky like his hero, English writer Dick Harman, although he hates the taste, and only writes when he is being observed, first in the café and later in front of the mirror, suggesting that his writing is a conscious act of performance designed to convince both himself and those around him of his talents. Although he mentions his published novels and collections of poetry, the first-person perspective casts doubt on the reliability of these assertions, as they are only mentioned in connection with his attempts to impress Dick. His primary and possibly sole source of income comes from sleeping with older women for money, a role he gravitated towards following the sexual abuse he experienced as a child which led him to realise that he could use his looks for financial gain and as a manipulative tool. His desire to become a writer therefore suggests his desire to transcend this life and become valued for his intellectual as well as his physical attributes.

Despite Raoul's ambition to 'better himself' and his assertion that 'I date myself from the moment that I became the tenant of a small bachelor flat,'[61] Mansfield suggests the futility of attempting to reject one's past through Raoul's subsequent comparison of himself in his new home to a snail: 'There I emerged, came out into the light and put out my two horns with a study and a bedroom and a kitchen on my back'.[62] Saralyn R. Daly points out that the image of 'the snail under the leaf' frequently reoccurs in Mansfield's writing, connecting this to her existential sense of alienation: 'Though she gallantly affirmed beauty to the very end, the casual destructive forces always lurked

nearby, and in joy sadness waited. Katherine Mansfield's life taught her to admire the rose but, in her own repeated image, to look for "the snail under the leaf."'[63] The snail image also appears in 'A Married Man's Story' (1921), as the narrator's gaze travels outwards through his window, cinematically panning across the country much like Gabriel's vision at the conclusion of Joyce's 'The Dead' (1914). Where Gabriel sees a dead, stifled world covered in snow, Mansfield's protagonist envisions scenes of life, freedom and opportunity in the streets of a 'strange city' and, in another of Mansfield's favourite visual metaphors, images of an ocean voyage. However, the married man's dreams of freedom are abruptly shattered as his travelling gaze comes to rest on 'tiny snails clinging' to the underside of an 'arum lily leaf'.[64] This jarring close-up shrinks the grandeur of his visions, returning him to his unhappy domestic life and suggesting the decay of his marriage. Returning to 'Je ne parle pas français', the sense of the duality of beauty and decay suggested by the snail metaphor again draws attention to the performative nature of Raoul's new assumed identity, suggesting that the legacy of his ruined childhood remains as an uneasy presence despite his attempts to cast it aside.

As with 'The Little Governess' and 'An Indiscreet Journey', Raoul's story also contains a parallel narrative in which a young Englishwoman travels to an unfamiliar country, only to discover that her romantic expectations have been cruelly thwarted. Although the narrative is focalised through Raoul's perspective, the defamiliarizing effect of the journey remains apparent, as Mouse's voyage from England to France is described as having taken 'years'.[65] Similarly, her movement outside of normal parameters appears to have visually transformed her into a child, as Raoul describes her as a 'baby', 'standing very straight in front of me with her chin raised and making […] the effort of her life to control her preposterous excitement'.[66] The strangeness of Raoul's encounter with Mouse is also emphasised in visual terms: as Raoul, Dick and Mouse travel by taxi to their hotel, Raoul interprets their journey as both physical and existential, observing that 'we jolted and rattled like three little dice that life had decided to have a fling with'.[67] While for Mouse this is a journey into the unknown, as she has left her home to elope with Dick, Raoul takes voyeuristic delight in the emotionally charged situation. He describes himself in terms of a cinema viewer as the taxi becomes a mobile projection space akin to the phantom ride:

> I insisted on taking the flap seat facing them because I would not have missed for anything those occasional flashing glimpses I had as we broke through the white circles of lamplight.
>
> They revealed Dick, sitting far back in his corner, his coat collar turned up, his hands thrust in his pockets, and his broad dark hat shading him as if it were a part of

> him – a sort of wing he hid under. They showed her, sitting up very straight, her lovely little face more like a drawing than a real face – every line was so full of meaning and so sharp cut against the swimming dark.[68]

The 'flashing glimpses' that are revealed as the taxi moves past streetlights creates an immersive sensation of high-speed travel, as well as suggesting flash photography, implying the tension experienced by Dick and Mouse as they fear their illicit actions are being monitored by a paparazzi-like presence. The contrasting virtual 'close ups' on the pair also visually foreshadow the tragic outcome of Mouse's journey: Dick appears determined to disappear into the shadows, while Raoul's transformation of Mouse into a 'drawing' presents her as an ephemeral, fairytale-like figure who is at risk of being absorbed by the 'swimming darkness' of the city. The physical act of journeying also results in the most cinematic sequence of the narrative, as Raoul finds it difficult to contain his excitement.

> What I wanted to do was to behave in the most extraordinary fashion – like a clown. To start singing, with large extravagant gestures, […] to jump out of the taxi while it was going, climb over the roof and dive in by another door; to hang out of the window and look for the hotel through the wrong end of a broken telescope, which was also a peculiarly ear-splitting trumpet.
>
> I watched myself do all this, you understand, and even managed to applaud in a private way by putting my gloved hands gently together, while I said to Mouse: 'And this is your first visit to Paris?'[69]

Raoul's imagined performance seems to be a direct reference to silent movie stars like Buster Keaton and Charlie Chaplin, whose physical comedy often involved dangerous stunts on moving vehicles and machinery. The idea that Raoul is 'watching himself' perform these actions enhances the connection between the journey and cinematicity, as his paradoxical state of being simultaneously static and in motion gives rise to the sense of restlessness that creates these visions.

Returning to 'An Indiscreet Journey', Mansfield uses interpretations of the journey in her fiction as a means of discussing the ways by which literature as a whole was affected by the Great War. At the outset of the narrative, the narrator epitomises pre-war naivety, with her dreams of adventure – facing lions and rescuing shipwrecked ladies – reflecting the popularity of romance and adventure tales at the turn of the century, as exemplified in the fiction of Robert Louis Stevenson and Jules Verne. This period of light-hearted fiction was however abruptly brought to an end by the impact of the war: the sheer scale and destructiveness of this event led to the belief that culture, the arts and

civilisation were in crisis, and many writers turned to apocalyptic prophesying. In *The Modern British Novel* (1993), Malcolm Bradbury marks the Great War as a turning point for modern fiction, characterised by 'the realization that the[re] would have to be new words, that the war had drained most of the old ones of signification, that a different language, pared of most of the old romantic and cultural associations, would have to be found'.[70] This shift from romantic idealism to a starkly realist style of fiction is presented in miniature in 'An Indiscreet Journey', with the narrator's journey from innocence to experience occurring parallel to the larger-scale transition that was simultaneously taking place in Europe. The narrator's shift from pre-war optimism, experimentation and newness to a more sinister and bleak outlook is shown visually through her changing subjective impressions of the world around her: the houses that seemed festive during her train journey become menacing once she reaches the village and moves closer to the realities of war, looking 'strange and mysterious' in the 'ragged drifting light and thin rain'.[71] The train itself also takes on a new role towards the end of the narrative; while initially it was the narrator's ally – 'the train was on my side'[72] – it later becomes a threat, as she compares its far-off sounds to 'a big beast shuffling in its sleep',[73] anticipating Yeats' apocalyptic post-war visions in 'The Second Coming' (1919) of an unknown creature slowly advancing upon civilisation. Similar symbols of destruction appear as the narrator and her lover dine in a café, in which the uneasy presence of war even in this supposedly safe, domestic space is suggested by the wallpaper. The narrator's claustrophobia and discomfort are apparent as she contemplates the 'creamy paper patterned all over with green and swollen trees – hundreds and hundreds of trees reared their mushroom heads to the ceiling'.[74] The overwhelming number of the trees, as well as the words 'swollen' and 'reared', make them appear threatening, recalling the sinister black trees at the outset of the story and implying that the natural world is infected by some unnatural sickness. 'Mushroom heads' is also a direct reference to war, creating a visual representation of explosions. These symbolic backdrops feature in several of Mansfield's stories, such as 'Leves Amores' (1907), in which the birds and flowers on the wallpaper come alive as a visualisation of sexual awakening, as discussed in the following chapter. This striking effect is potentially a nod to early projection technology like the magic lantern, as well as acting as an articulation of taboo or forbidden emotions through images rather than words as a means of avoiding censorship.

In 'An Indiscreet Journey', the shift towards a negative, post-war understanding of the world is also evident through the narrator's changing interpretations of time. The outset of the narrative is characterised by temporal fluidity as the narrator's fairytale-like impressions of the world around her are interspersed with immersive memories of the past and images of a projected future, 'when the war is over'.[75] However, towards the end of the narrative, this promise of the future has been

replaced by uncertainty, as time seems to have ground to a halt: the narrator thinks 'there is no village at all – the streets are quiet under the grass. I have an idea this is the sort of thing one will do on the very last day of all – sit in an empty café and listen to a clock ticking until -'[76] The festive atmosphere from the beginning of the narrator's journey has been stifled, with the village's blanketing under grass implying the end of human civilisation. The ticking clock too suggests a countdown to some apocalyptic event, with the ominous breaking off at the word 'until – ' emphasising the unknowability of the future. Much like Kezia and Linda's fear of an unknown presence in 'Prelude,' referred to simply as 'IT' and 'THEY',[77] the narrator cannot find the words to articulate her fears, as the war has destroyed the certainties of conventional language. Returning to Bradbury's argument, the unfinished sentences and the narrator's avoidance of addressing the realities of her situation suggest that Mansfield is trying to articulate war experience in a language that does not yet exist, resulting in the story's constant sense of loss and rupture beneath its adventure-like veneer. War has shifted human experience into an area for which there is no comparative means of communication, meaning that war and post-war texts exist in abeyance: for Mansfield, there is no sufficient means of translating an event of such magnitude into words. In a letter dated from 1919, Mansfield describes the war as another site of liminality, stating that it transforms the 'common things of light and day': they are not gone, 'they are intensified, they are illumined'.[78]

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Mansfield's fascination with female subjectivity is apparent throughout her works, as she presents the world as it appears from a multitude of disparate perspectives. Her writing can be read as a form of translation, both in its intermedial transposing of images into words, and in a more figurative sense, in its explorations of the in-between or untranslatable status of women, expatriates and other marginalised groups. In order to translate these characters' experiences, as well as her own, into words, Mansfield often turns to the visual, recreating the ways in which people see during moments of liminality: a journey into the unknown, a clash between old and new values, an encounter with the trauma of war. In 'An Indiscreet Journey', 'The Little Governess' and 'The Voyage', transitional periods in a character's life are explored, with the journey providing a metaphor for the journey from innocence to experience. The interpretation of high-speed travel as a form of visual entertainment is also evident in these stories, as Mansfield's protagonists interpret the scenes they perceive through the windows of moving vehicles in cinematic terms, aligning these narratives with technologies like the phantom ride.

The impact of the railway journey on cultural perceptions of space and time is investigated in Mansfield's fiction, with travel allowing characters to become visually immersed in scenes from their past and imagined, other locations. The spatial and temporal distortions experienced by nineteenth century train travellers are also strikingly similar to early perceptions of cinemagoing, as evidenced by a study of Woolf's 'The Cinema'. If the travel has the potential to transport one to another time and place, as Mansfield suggests, it can also reveal a sense of homelessness and lack of belonging, as Mansfield and her characters restlessly travel from place to place. Mansfield's travel narratives therefore also allow for an examination of authenticity, with cinematic visual effects in stories like 'Je ne parle pas français' revealing the existential crises that the journey sets in motion. In Mansfield's recreation of the sensory experience of travel, the influence of both rail travel and the cinema on modern perception is evident: the impact of high-speed travel on understandings of time is explored, as well as the use of cinematic effects to express emotions in visual terms.

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Chapter 4: 'Dissolving Views': Mansfield and Pre-Cinematic Visual Technologies

The dissolution of the boundaries between various artistic forms is a type of experimentation that is often associated with works of the modernist period. However, it can be argued that the shift to intermediality in the arts is not solely a modernist phenomenon, instead having its roots in far earlier social and cultural change. In his study *Film and Fiction*, Keith Cohen points out that intermedial approaches to art were apparent from at least the beginning of the nineteenth century, as visual artists, musicians and writers searched for inspiration from a variety of sources in an attempt to reinvent conventional forms. According to Cohen, the most fascinating observations in nineteenth-century aesthetic and cultural theory were taking place in the boundaries around the arts.[1] Early discussions of the interrelations between these artistic forms appear in Hegel's 'Aesthetics' (1801), in which he proposes that disparate media should be examined in terms of their similarities; in Wagner's concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, a total or ideal work that provided a synthesis of all the arts; and later in Méliès's comments on the cinema's capacity to draw upon all other media, from painting and sculpture to mechanics. Cohen supports Méliès's beliefs, arguing that in spite of the evidence of earlier convergences in the arts, the cinema was the catalyst that most significantly accelerated this intermedial approach. Cohen interprets the effect of the cinema as a two-way process, writing 'if the cinema could, and still can, be seen as a hodgepodge of various artistic impulses, its finished product has at the same time been capable of shocking the other arts into awareness of their own potentials'.[2] Early accounts of the new medium also support this, referring to the cinema as 'a powerful synthesis' and 'an extended expression of all the arts'.[3]

It is possible, however, that this 'extended expression of all the arts' is not unique to the cinema, instead relating to a far longer history of visual entertainment. In a 1925 essay on the fiction of Robert Louis Stevenson, Bertolt Brecht argues that the influence of visual media on literature did not originate with the birth of cinema, as contemporary critics suggested. Brecht remarks that 'it is ridiculous to claim that cinematic technology introduced a new visual perspective into literature', as 'filmic optics existed on this continent before the cinema itself'.[4] Karin Littau comments on Brecht's concept of 'filmic optics', or cinematicity, suggesting that 'what is specific to the phenomena of cinematicity, to which Brecht draws our attention, is the conjunction of movement and vision regardless of the medium in which these figure'.[5] As Littau suggests, consumers throughout the nineteenth century created a demand for moving images, a simulacrum of life that transcended the limitations of both painting and photography. These moving picture technologies dominated nineteenth-century popular entertainment, both in the home and in public. On a commercial scale, the market was flooded with various optical toys, which are an example of the inherent intermediality of this period, bringing together both art and science as they were designed to be

both visually pleasing and educational. These toys were marketed to children to teach them about physics and the 'persistence of vision' effect, which was believed to be the way by which such devices trick the eye into seeing still images in motion, and it is likely that such toys would have been played with in Mansfield's middle class family home.[6] Optical toys are also representative of the inventive spirit of the age and the desire to create increasingly complex forms of motion picture entertainment, as the inventors of new devices created hybrids between older optical toys and other forms of visual media. The praxinoscope is an example of this: it was patented in 1877 by Charles-Émile Reynaud, and was an amalgam of two earlier forms of optical toys combined with the same projection technology that was used in magic lantern shows. The two older toys that Reynaud developed were Joseph Plateau's phenakistoscope, featuring images on a disc which appeared to move when observed through slots on a second disc that could be spun; and William Horner's zoetrope, an improved version of this in which a strip of images was placed within a slotted cylinder, allowing for multiple viewers. The zoetrope was also known as the 'wheel of life', emphasising the strong connection in the minds of the Victorians between movement and the illusion of life. Reynaud's praxinoscope further advanced these technologies through the addition of a circle of mirrors within the cylinder and a central light which allowed the moving images to be projected on to a blank wall, effectively making this the first animated cartoon.

While these optical toys were common features of the Victorian nursery, similar forms of visual entertainment were developing parallel to these for display to both children and adults in the public sphere. The most successful of these motion picture technologies was the magic lantern, which can be interpreted the most direct ancestor of the cinema, using projection technology to provide a mass viewing experience. The magic lantern operated by using a concave mirror to direct a beam of light through a glass slide onto which an image was painted, allowing the image to be projected on to a wall or a screen. The magic lantern is a fairly ancient technology, with mentions of lantern devices that could project an image of a demon appearing in the 1640s. With the technological advances of the Victorian age, however, the lantern saw a huge resurgence in popularity around 1860, as the use of limelight in lantern projection became widespread, allowing for brighter and clearer images. The development of the magic lantern show also paralleled that of the cinema: as it

grew in popularity, it became primarily a storytelling medium, using images to recreate familiar narratives. The examples below are from an 1880 lantern adaptation (fig. 30) and a 1910 film adaptation (fig. 31) of Charles Dickens's *A Christmas Carol* (1843), a story which seems almost specifically created to showcase the transformative special effects of the lantern and the cinematograph. Magic lantern narratives commonly featured as acts in music hall variety shows, and lanterns were also used to provide special effects in theatre, pantomime and dioramas. The diorama was a new type of theatrical display established by Daguerre in 1822, which used coloured lanterns behind multilayered panels to make landscape paintings appear to come to life, with effects like the transition from day to night or summer to winter. As well as in the diorama, this obsession with recreating 'life' led to the development of a variety of increasingly creative ways to incorporate moving images into lantern shows. While this is not widely acknowledged, a substantial amount of the visual language of the cinema was established during this period: the invention of double- and triple-lensed lanterns allowed for dissolves between one scene and the next, then known as 'dissolving views', and many of the more elaborate lantern narratives featured effects like double exposure, inserts and establishing shots.

Fig. 30: *Marley's Ghost*

Fig. 31: *A Christmas Carol*

According to Cohen, our love for moving pictures is part of human nature, dating back to long before technologies like the magic lantern existed. Cohen argues that 'the pleasure of seeing objects in motion is a primordial one and, according to some commentators, may sometimes correspond to the pattern or form that human thought takes: that is, succession through space provides a concrete embodiment of that vaguely felt process of mental succession'.[7] The connection between the magic lantern and the visualisation of thought patterns was also made by John Locke, who stated that 'our ideas do, whilst we are awake, succeed one another in our minds at certain distances, not much unlike the images in the inside of a lantern, turned round by the heat of a candle'.[8] The idea of

thought being a succession of visions is frequently explored in Mansfield's fiction. Her characters remain static while imaginatively 'watching' narratives take place, as in 'The Tiredness of Rosabel' (1908), as Rosabel gazes through her window and sees her projected future life before her eyes. Mansfield herself experiences similar 'visions', often promoted by an auditory stimulus: she dreams of attending a Tchaikovsky concert and seeing the music as 'a great flock of black, wide winged birds' that 'fly screaming over the orchestra', as well as describing the launch of a battleship as prompting 'strange visions of the victories and defeats – death – storms'.[9] Mansfield is described as belonging to a canon of 'cinematic' writers, yet the claim that she is inspired by the cinema proper is anachronistic, at least in her earlier fiction. Although she may have seen films as part of variety shows during her childhood, there were no cinemas in her native New Zealand prior to 1907, as discussed in chapter six. However, in spite of this possible late introduction to the cinema, Mansfield's earlier fiction is still undeniably cinematic, suggesting that it is the product of a cultural shift that began long before 1895. While there is little written evidence of Mansfield's childhood, it is likely that she was aware of the magic lantern, which was as influential a form of popular entertainment in Australia and New Zealand as it was in Europe. It is therefore possible to trace the influence of pre-cinematic visual technologies on Mansfield's writing, as she makes use of projection-like effects and seemingly supernatural transformations in order to illustrate her characters' patterns of thought.

This chapter begins by providing examples of the potential pre-cinematic influences on Mansfield's writing, with reference to visual effects in 'Pictures' and 'At the Bay'. I examine Littau's study of 'The Yellow Wall-Paper', adapting her argument that the 'cinematicity' of modern fiction predates the cinema proper. The modern fascination with visual entertainment can also be related to the growing popularity of the short story, as I argue at the end of section one. My second section applies Littau's reading of Gilman's fiction to Mansfield's 'Prelude', comparing the two authors' treatment of women's mental health and use of visual effects as a means of critiquing the patriarchal institution of marriage. Next, I consider Mansfield's series of 'Vignettes' in terms of their allusions to projection technology, discussing their affinities with the Victorian phantasmagoria. As in the previous section, it is possible to argue that Mansfield turns to these subjective visualisations in an attempt to address taboo subjects, such as lesbian sexual desire and colonial guilt, as she examines her feelings for Maata Mahupuku. The following section provides a discussion of the cinema of attractions, suggesting that the innovative visuals of early film and the magic lantern find a literary equivalent in Mansfield's 'A Married Man's Story'. This discussion continues in section five, through an examination of the role of special effects in nineteenth-century theatre productions, comparing Mansfield's work to the multimedia structure of Victorian visual attractions.

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I. 'The conjunction of movement and vision': The Cinematicity of the Modernist Short Story

Both subjective vision and the impact of visual forms of entertainment are explored in Mansfield's short story, 'Pictures'. Originally entitled 'The Pictures', the title change is significant, reflecting the story's exploration of vision and images rather than referring exclusively to the cinema. As with many of Mansfield's stories, the events of the narrative take place over the course of a day, as the protagonist Miss Moss, an ageing former music-hall singer, desperately attempts to find work with various film studios after her landlady threatens to turn her out. Mansfield's initial characterisation of Miss Moss reveals the first of the story's moving pictures, as she lies in bed thinking about food:

> A pageant of Good Hot Dinners passed across the ceiling, each of them accompanied by a bottle of Nourishing Stout…
>
> 'Even if I were to get up now,' she thought, 'and have a sensible substantial breakfast…' A pageant of Sensible Substantial Breakfasts followed the dinners across the ceiling, shepherded by an enormous, white, uncut ham. Miss Moss shuddered and disappeared under the bedclothes.[10]

Miss Moss's vision of this 'pageant' of meals is proto-cinematic, with the word 'passed' in particular suggesting a succession of moving images projected onto the blank, screen-like ceiling. The capitalisation of 'Good Hot Dinners', 'Nourishing Stout' and 'Sensible Substantial Breakfasts' also creates an impression that these phrases are advertising slogans, possibly reflecting the animation of the Hely's company slogan in *Ulysses*: as five men pass by, each with one letter of the name 'Hely's' painted on their hats, Bloom sees them as personified letters rather than people. The insertion of animated objects into conventional scenes to suggest a vision was also a common feature of early

Fig. 32: *Santa Claus*

film, which was in turn inspired by magic lantern superimpositions. British filmmaker and ex-magic lanternist George Albert Smith brought his experience in creating magic lantern narratives to the big screen, with films like *Santa Claus* (1898), in which a circular insert next to a shot of children sleeping shows a superimposed scene of Santa climbing down the chimney (fig. 32). Frank Gray refers to Smith's technique as 'an early form of crosscutting',[11] as on one level the shot acts as a conventional magic lantern style insert depicting the children's dream, but it also cinematically interacts with the main image as Santa disappears into the chimney and appears in the room, suggesting two planes of simultaneous action. Mansfield also uses these literary superimpositions as a means of distorting time in her narratives, such as in 'At the Bay' as Beryl imagines future relationships: 'Beryl saw so plainly two people standing in the middle of her room. Her arms were round his neck; he held her. And now he whispered, "My beauty, my little beauty!"'[12] Beryl's ability to 'plainly see' this projected future occurring within the present moment is also suggestive of the magic lantern. Slides featuring an insert image which revealed a scene from a character's imagination were often used in lantern narratives, such as this slide which features a visualisation of a man remembering his youth (fig. 33).

Fig. 33: *The Scent of the Lilies*

In ‘Pictures’, Miss Moss’s vision also serves a dual purpose, introducing the theme of the cinema and its power to colour people’s interpretations of the world, as well as providing a visual depiction of Miss Moss’s hunger and destitute situation. Her disgust at the ‘enormous, white, uncut ham’ is later mirrored in ‘At the Bay’, as Alice is disturbed by a picture of a white rose ‘that made you think of a curl of mutting fat’.[13] Like the ham, the rose is associated with masculine control, being worn in the buttonhole of Mrs Stubbs’s late husband in his huge portrait that seems to watch over the two women with god-like authority. Both Alice and Miss Moss’s horror at these huge, meaty objects emphasises their marginalised places in a male-dominated society, with Miss Moss later responding to the beckon of the ‘sausage finger’[14] of a man in the Café de Madrid, as selling her body to him becomes her only means of getting the money she needs.

It is possible to examine Mansfield’s fascination with animation and visual effects with reference to Littau’s arguments in her essay on the cinematicity of modern fiction. Using Charlotte Perkins Gilman’s short story ‘The Yellow Wall-Paper’ (1892) as an example, Littau suggests that the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were a transitional period for media, and that the interest in ‘cinematicity’ during this era predates the cinema itself. She argues that other visual forms of entertainment such as the magic lantern, the phenakistoscope and the zoetrope informed people’s responses to the world around them, bringing about a fascination with ‘the conjunction of movement and vision’.[15] This engagement with new visual media was also instrumental in shaping the literature of the period, changing the ways in which texts were both written and read. In 1931, Brecht drew attention to this stylistic shift, noting that ‘The film viewer reads stories differently. But the person who writes stories is for his part also a film viewer’.[16] This symbiotic relationship between literature and the visual arts emphasises that media cannot exist in a void, with newer art forms drawing upon the conventions of their predecessors while the more established arts take on the characteristics of modern media as a natural step in their adaptation to a new age. Brecht’s statement is an early acknowledgement of the intermediality inherent in the arts, as he rightly points out that we cannot examine one medium without admitting its indebtedness to other art forms.

Littau suggests that the cinematicity of modern media lies in their fragmented and fast-paced nature, with art imitating modern life’s ‘abundance of disparate impressions’,[17] in the words of Nietzsche. This sensory overload can also be related to reading itself, as new advances in printing technologies allowed books to be produced more quickly and cheaply, meaning that the marketplace was flooded with pulp novels and magazines. The late Victorian period in particular was the age of the short story and the serial, both types of literature designed for easy and rapid consumption. Their popularity was enhanced by the emergence of mass rail commuting and the

London Underground as they could easily be absorbed during the modern worker's small windows of leisure time. The short story form was also influential in destroying the elitism and class boundaries that were characteristic of older literature, making fiction more affordable, as well as being more accessible than a novel, with its short segments and variety being comparable to a music hall programme. The ability of the short story form to transcend class boundaries in its readership was also expressed in its writership, ranging from writers for boys' magazines who were paid by the word to some of the most respected authors of the age, such as Conrad, James, Kipling and Wells. As well as its reputation as being literature for 'the man on the street', the short story is also characteristically modern due to its fragmented and temporary nature: according to G. K. Chesterton, 'Our modern attraction to the short story is not an accident of form; it is a sign of a real sense of fleetingness and fragility; it means that existence is only an impression […] We have no instinct of anything ultimate and enduring beyond the episode'.[18] While Chesterton is referring to literature, this observation could equally be applicable to the attraction of early cinema as a form of entertainment, providing its viewers with brief glimpses into a multitude of disparate scenes, switching from one subject to the next with dizzying speed. It appears that the 'cinematising' of modern literature, both in style and mass-reproducibility, began decades before the cinema itself emerged. As Andrew Shail suggests, short stories and early cinema are 'children of the same industrial-capitalist cultural principle'.[19]

The development of the relationship between literature and visual media was also influenced by pre-cinematic technologies, such as Edison's kinetoscope. After visiting Edison's laboratory in 1893, journalist Octave Uzanne envisioned a future for reading that involved a marriage of word and image as 'readers' would listen to recorded stories while watching a series of accompanying images projected on to the wall.[20] This idea of synchronised sound and visuals is highly modern, not being achieved in film until decades later, while the idea of such a form of entertainment being commercially available for domestic use looks even further ahead to the coming of television. Interestingly, the illustration to accompany Uzanne's article, entitled 'The Romance of the Future', depicts a lone female viewer, suggesting that such imaginative and romantic spectatorship was already viewed as a feminine pastime (fig. 4).

Fig. 34: *The Romance of the Future*

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II. Visual Transformations and Mental Health in 'The Yellow Wall-Paper' and 'Prelude'

Littau sees this futuristic image anticipated in 'The Yellow Wall-Paper', as the protagonist's sense of entrapment is suggested in visual terms, through her obsession with the wallpaper in the room in which she is staying for a 'rest cure'. As she gazes at the wallpaper, it appears to move, with both the patterns in its design and the shadows that fall upon it apparently coming to life and revealing a series of dead or imprisoned women. Gilman's use of these visual effects to provide a critique of the institution of marriage and women's inferior social position are similar themes to those found in Mansfield's fiction, suggesting that 'cinematic' writing was essential to the cultural zeitgeist of feminist modernism. Similarly, an emerging trend of women's writing with this focus on the visual can be noted, perhaps as a response to the traditional silencing of women's voices, a situation experienced by the protagonist of 'The Yellow Wall-Paper' as well as Gilman herself, as both character and author's mental illnesses were dismissed as feminine hysteria. The focus on the visual as a form of displacement is therefore a retreat from this, allowing women to articulate their emotions and experiences without the need for direct speech.

The animation that Gilman's protagonist perceives in the 'florid arabesque'[21] of the wallpaper recalls Edgar Allen Poe's gothic short story 'Ligeia' (1838), in which he describes draperies on which figures appear to be in motion:

> It was spotted all over, at irregular intervals, with arabesque figures, about a foot in diameter, and wrought upon the cloth in patterns of the most jetty black. But these figures partook of the true character of the arabesque only when regarded from a single point of view. […] To one entering the room, they bore the appearance of simple monstrosities; but upon a farther advance, this appearance gradually departed; and step by step, as the visitor moved his station in the chamber, he saw himself surrounded by an endless succession of the ghastly forms which belong to the superstition of the Norman, or arise in the guilty slumbers of the monk. The phantasmagoric effect was vastly heightened by the artificial introduction of a strong continual current of wind behind the draperies - giving a hideous and uneasy animation to the whole.[22]

Gilman's protagonist experiences a similar 'phantasmagoric effect', with the word phantasmagoric sharing affinities with magic lantern technology: the phantasmagoria was a popular form of magic lantern show which involved the projection of ghostly images designed to fool the audience into believing that spirits were physically manifesting before their eyes, or everyday objects – like patterned wallpaper – were magically transforming. The phantasmagoria was often invoked in Gothic narratives as a subjective visualisation of a character's guilt or fear. In 'The Yellow Wall-Paper', it is beams of light entering the darkened room that makes the wallpaper appear to come alive, again suggesting projection technology. The protagonist remarks that 'at night in any kind of light, in twilight, candlelight, lamplight, and worst of all by moonlight, it becomes bars! The outside pattern I mean, and the woman behind it is as plain as can be'.[23] The almost non-Euclidian movement of the wallpaper as it 'turns a back-somersault' and refuses to follow 'any laws of radiation, or alternation, or repetition, or symmetry' is also comparable to the mesmerising patterns of optical toys such as the zoetrope or the phenakistoscope, which create the illusion of movement, displaying complex shifting patterns or strange transformations.[24] The appeal of optical toys lay in their ability to trick the eye into perceiving still images in motion, and advertisers emphasised the seemingly supernatural qualities of these devices, as well as their transformational effects (fig. 35). Although Gilman's protagonist is horrified by the wallpaper's 'slanting waves of optic horror', a phrase that would not seem out of place in Poe's oeuvre, she is at some level also entertained, recalling that she 'used to lie awake as a child and get more entertainment and terror out of blank walls and plain furniture than most children could find in a toy-store'.[25] The impact of early visual

technologies on the human imagination is emphasised in Gilman's narrative, as well as the negative effects of the 'rest cure', as the protagonist's enforced isolation results in hallucinations and paranoia as she seeks any means to occupy her idle mind. According to Littau, 'what she has discovered is the hallucinatory power of reading, which allows us to read between the lines in books and dream images from the words inscribed on pages, has been supplanted by the cinema of the wallpaper, which renders the hallucination visible'.[26] Women who possess a love of reading, writing and learning are regarded with suspicion in 'The Yellow Wall-Paper': the protagonist's husband infantilises her, forbidding her from working or seeing her friends until he deems her 'well' again, and she is forced to hide her journals from her husband's sister, remarking that 'I verily believe she thinks it is the writing which made me sick!'[27] Through use of the cinematic visuals of the wallpaper, Gilman creates a chilling and immersive account of mental illness, revealing women's powerlessness in a society that strips them of any agency and belittles their experiences.

Fig. 35: *Zoetrope Advertising Card*

A similar insight into the lack of understanding surrounding mental illnesses appears in Mansfield's short story 'Prelude', through the character Linda. Bruce Harding suggests that Mansfield's intentions when writing 'Prelude' were in the same polemical spirit as Woolf's *Three Guineas* (1938), as Mansfield reflects on men's and women's roles in her society and the damaging outcomes of these restrictions.[28] Linda's subjectivity breaks down as she examines the world around her, allowing her to transcend herself and become the thing she looks at. Littau's notion of viewing an old medium through the lens of a new medium returns as Linda contemplates the wallpaper and furniture in her room, anthropomorphising still images and objects and seeing them 'move'. This imaginative transformation has clear parallels with 'The Yellow Wall-Paper', and similar parallels can also be drawn between the lives of Linda and Gilman's protagonist: both have been prescribed 'rest cures' due to an unidentified, anxiety-related illness; both are resentful of their roles of wife and mother and feel stifled by the confinements of domesticity. It is implied that Gilman's protagonist has, like Linda, been traumatised by childbirth, as her illness seems to be a recent development in her life and she dreads any interaction with her child, thinking 'Such a dear baby! And yet I CANNOT be with him, it makes me so nervous'.[29] Linda is denied human interaction and activities that are considered too taxing for the brain, and is therefore occupied by similar cinematic hallucinations, which begin as she traces the outline of a poppy on her wallpaper and feels it 'come alive',[30] gaining the appearance and texture of a living flower. The hallucinatory associations of poppies are evoked as Linda gazes around her room and sees the transformation of other everyday objects:

> Things had a habit of coming alive like that. […] How often she had seen the tassel fringe of her quilt change into a funny procession of dancers with priests attending… For there were some tassels that did not dance at all but walked stately, bent forward as if praying or chanting. How often the medicine bottles had turned into a row of little men with brown top-hats on; and the washstand jug had a way of sitting in the basin like a fat bird in a round nest.[31]

These descriptions of 'living furniture' are highly reminiscent of early trick films, such as Méliès's *Le Manoir du Diable* (1896) or J. Stuart Blackton's *The Haunted Hotel* (1907), in which innovative special effects were showcased through the animation of inanimate objects, often to suggest a supernatural presence. Christine Hamelin also argues that the animation of Linda's room is significant as it 'represents the unactualized potentials of her life':[32] Linda's world and ambitions have diminished following both her marriage and illness, and instead of being a participant in life, she can now only observe it from afar. The miniature world that she imaginatively creates is now the only aspect of her life over which she retains control.

However, Mansfield implies that even this control is flimsy through Linda's interpretation of the washstand jug as 'a fat bird in a round nest'. Linda's nightmare from earlier in the narrative is recalled, in which she is overwhelmed by grotesque, child-like birds, representing the endless demands of motherhood that have sapped her strength and freedom. Linda's daughter Kezia is disturbed by similar bird imagery, as Mansfield emphasises the strangeness of the family's new home as Kezia walks down 'a square hall filled with bales and hundreds of parrots'.[33] While the parrots are revealed to be part of the wallpaper's design, they still appear to be in motion, as they

Fig. 36: *Zoetrope with Five Birds in Progressive Flight*

'persisted in flying past Kezia with her lamp'.[34] The fact that the passage of the lamp creates the movement of the parrots is suggestive of projection technology, like the magic lantern or the zoetrope, with birds in flight being a popular subject of study in these media (fig. 6). Both Kezia and Linda's horror of animals rushing towards them is also alluded to, with the parrots acting as a link between Linda's bird nightmare and her comparison of her husband's sexual advances to a large dog leaping on her. Following the transformation of the jug into a bird, Linda feels that the 'living objects' in her room have become hostile. Like Gilman's protagonist's sensation that the wallpaper has eyes – 'those absurd, unblinking eyes are everywhere'[35] – Linda too becomes paranoid that her every action is under scrutiny. In a sinister reversal of observer and observed, the animated world that she has created turns to watch her, controlling her every movement. The hallucinatory effects of illness and confinement were also experienced by Mansfield herself, as she writes in her journal that being ill and bedridden causes her mind to create 'pictures' or 'detestable incidents'.[36] Similarly, in Mansfield's story 'The Dove's Nest' (1922), the maid Marie seeks an imaginative escape from the oppressive domestic space in which she is confined, projecting her desires onto a glass dish on the dining room table, much like Bertha's displaced emotions in 'Bliss'. Marie images that the dish is a tomb, creating flower arrangements that represent the deaths of her employers: 'Marie almost

seemed to see her *beau Monsieur*, very small, very small, at the bottom of the bowl, in full evening dress, with a ribbon across his chest and his ears white as wax'.[37] Mansfield provides a literary equivalent of a lantern slide or a kinetoscope reel, as Marie looks down into the bowl and sees the dead man appear.

Both Mansfield and Gilman push the boundaries of the definition of representation in their fiction, creating a sense of ambiguity around the moments their characters describe – are these happening in reality or within the mind of a character, and if events are imagined, does this necessarily make them less important to the narrative? This defiance of direct representation anticipates the works of surrealist artists like René Magritte, whose painting *The Treachery of Images* (1928-29) famously proclaims 'Ceci n'est pas une pipe'. Magritte challenges the relationship between words and things – the pipe in the painting is not a pipe, but merely a representation of a pipe. Although labels and images have the power to produce meaning, they are unable to fully evoke the experience of an object, or capture the multiple layers of subjective meaning that are applied to an object by each individual who encounters it. This subjective representation is frequently explored in Mansfield's works, such as in 'Bliss', in which Bertha's subjective vision of the table challenges our presuppositions about material objects in its movement. The visual consciousness of Mansfield's fiction allows her to experiment with representation: like Gilman's protagonist in 'The Yellow Wall-Paper', the meaning of the world around her characters changes depending on their domestic situations and mental states. According to Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright, we are able to understand objects and entities by creating written, spoken or drawn representations of them, thus 'the material world has meaning and can be "seen" by us only through representations. The world is not simply reflected back to us by representations that stand in for things by copying their appearance. We construct the meaning of things through the process of representing them'.[38] Mansfield's comments regarding the responsibility of writers to create representations of the war are relevant here, but this question of representation raises another question in terms of Mansfield and Gilman's work. If, as Sturken and Cartwright suggest, we construct meaning through the process of representation, then how can women's lives and experiences be fully understood if so few written and artistic representations have been created by women? The ubiquity of a white, upper-class, Western male perspective in the arts led to writers like Mansfield and Gilman's search for new methods of representation, exploring the ways in which women are silenced in their society and visually representing the barriers that they are forced to face.

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III. Fear, Desire and Colonial Guilt: Phantasmagoric Representations

The potential influence of pre-cinematic visual technologies is also apparent in Mansfield's earlier short stories, such as 'Vignette: Summer in Winter' (1907), which was written soon after she had lost the freedom of her college days in London to return to New Zealand and the conservative values and lifestyle of her family. Her fascination with movement and vision is already apparent in this story as she uses animated effects and shadows projected on to the walls as a means of illustrating her protagonist's duality. It is likely that the story is autobiographical, as the narrator's beautiful companion is referred to as 'Carlotta', a nickname used in various stories for Maata Mahupuku, a Maori girl with whom Mansfield was infatuated in her youth. Her journal from this period reveals the shame that this desire caused her to experience, as she writes 'Do other people of my own age feel as I do I wonder so absolutely powerful licentious, so almost physically ill… I want Maata. I want her as I have had her – terribly'.[39] Later, she becomes even more horrified by her emerging sexuality, reprimanding herself: 'As it is, with a rapidity unimaginable, you are going to the Devil. PULL UP NOW YOURSELF'.[40] In 'Vignette', these conflicting desires are cinematically presented: as Carlotta sings and plays the piano, the 'daffodil silk' wallpaper appears to come to life, making the room seem 'warm and full of sunshine and happy flowers'.[41] This striking effect is possibly inspired by diorama theatre, a form of magic lantern show in which coloured lanterns illuminated hidden panels on large paintings, creating the illusion of movement and life. The transition between the seasons was a popular subject in the diorama, as mentioned above, and blooming flowers commonly appeared as a visual motif, with shifting colours and projected light being used to present emotion and to capture the shifting mood of a scene. In addition to these animated flowers in 'Vignette', the room is also filled with the scent of Carlotta's perfume, 'Peau d'Espagne', which also reveals the sexual nature of the narrator's desire, as this perfume would have been known to Mansfield's contemporary readers as 'the favourite scent of sensuous persons'.[42] The narrative is a fascinating multisensory experience, as sound, scent, and moving image combine to provide an immersive and erotically-charged recreation of the narrator's response to Carlotta's summer-like beauty.

As the narrative develops, however, this ode to Carlotta is undercut by the narrator's encroaching guilt. The movement of the flowers on the wall is jarringly interspersed by shadows, as Mansfield describes 'strange grotesque shadows that leapt upon the walls, the curtains, that lurked under the chairs, behind the lounge, that hid in the corners, and seemed to point long shadow fingers at Carlotta'.[43] The transition here is again suggestive of the diorama, as shows tended to have an equal balance between light and dark, displaying the effects of dusk or the coming of winter to a natural landscape. The mobile shadows also have strong parallels with the phantasmagoria, paralleling the visions experienced by the protagonist of 'The Yellow Wall-Paper'. The battle between summer

renewal and the sinister dark shadows that takes place as a backdrop to Carlotta is a physical manifestation of Mansfield's own internal battle between joy and shame, with the accusatory pointing finger of the shadow possibly suggesting the stern authority of her father, who was frustrated during this period by his daughter's lack of interest in finding a husband. For Mansfield, Maata represented an escape from the perpetual parties and society functions she was forced to attend so that her father could display his sophisticated London-educated daughters. In her journal, Mansfield condemns these years as 'the waste of life' and imagines a conversation with her father where he asks her 'What have I got for my money? Come along, deck yourself out, show the world that you are expensive'.[44] The animated effects in 'Vignette' are expanded upon in Mansfield's subsequent works, such as 'Night Came Swiftly' (1907), in which Pearl's fear of rejection is expressed as she gazes at the tree in her garden and 'the shadow it cast on the door' which 'looked like a many-armed monster waving her away – the action was fantastic and real'.[45] The phantasmagoric projection-like effects here appear threatening, yet also alluring, relating to Pearl's visions of being held in her estranged lover's arms once again. The dichotomy between 'fantastic' and 'real' is also suggestive of early cinema, invoking filmmakers like Méliès who made use of the perceived 'truth' of the camera eye to add credibility to his magic tricks. Like 'Vignette', Mansfield's short story 'Leves Amores' (1907) also cinematically presents a lesbian sexual awakening, as the two lovers' discovery of their desire for one another is suggested by the forest-patterned wallpaper in their room appearing to come alive, with birds singing and flowers blooming. The predominance of these visual effects in homosexual narratives emphasises Mansfield's guilt and confusion over what she sees in her teenage years as her transgressive sexuality, using images to articulate emotions that she is ashamed of or unable to directly express in words.

As well as evoking Mansfield's personal experiences, it is possible to read the projected shadows as indicative of guilt on a larger and more national scale: as a Maori woman, Maata represents the repressed Other of the colonial self, and Mansfield's attraction to her mirrors Marlow's obsession with the African people in *Heart of Darkness,* as he recognises in them parts of himself that he has suppressed. Angela Smith discusses this tension between pakeha, or white settler, self and Maori other that remained an uneasy presence in antipodean society:

> Maori culture was and is a powerful presence in New Zealand, evident then and now. For the empire city to deny it, together with the painful history of Maori and pakeha interaction, was to attempt partial amnesia, a willed forgetting or a denial of guilt. The claim that pakeha are civilised, and Maoris primitive, is undermined by a clear-sighted look at colonial history, in which pakeha cheated and brutalized

> Maoris; the pakeha are barbaric, untrustworthy, and greedy and so the stranger is not alien, definable as Maori, but part of the pakeha self.[46]

In 'Vignette', the barren urban landscape outside the window that the narrator describes can also be associated with colonial guilt, a visualisation of the destructiveness brought about by 'civilising' the land. Significantly, life and rebirth in the narrative are only linked to Maata's presence.

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IV. 'Successions of pictorial surprises': The Cinema of Attractions and 'A Married Man's Story'

While the influence of a pre-cinematic visual culture can be found in Mansfield's earlier works, many of her later works display an affinity with both the cinema itself as well as other forms of visual entertainment. The fragmentary style of Mansfield's fiction, often lacking an explicit narrative framework or even discernible plot, aligns her stories with both the magic lantern and cinema in its earliest form. Rather than the narrative films we are familiar with today, audiences of lantern shows and early film were presented with a 'cinema of attractions', in the words of Tom Gunning. Gunning draws a distinction between narrative cinema and the cinema of attractions, suggesting that the former absorbs the spectator into its diegesis, piquing his or her interest by delaying the resolution of some important plot point; while the latter deals in immediacy and exhibitionism, choosing instead to immediately satisfy the viewer's curiosity, using the novelty of the new medium to fascinate or shock.[47] The appeal of attractions is in their manipulation of the pleasure we gain from looking, and the makers of these shows attempted to delight their audiences with increasingly elaborate new techniques and special effects. John Frazer explains the appeal of the cinema of attractions through reference to the films of Georges Méliès:

> The casual narrative links in Méliès's films are relatively insignificant compared to the discrete events. We experience his films as rapidly juxtaposed jolts of activity. We focus on successions of pictorial surprises which run roughshod over the conventional niceties of linear plotting. Méliès's films are a collage of immediate experiences which coincidentally require the passage of time to become complete.[48]

This idea of a 'succession of pictorial surprises' could equally be applied to the style of Mansfield's fiction: in a letter, she describes her writing as a series of 'interrupted moment[s] like a cinema'.[49]

The story that is perhaps most obviously comparable in style to the cinema of attractions is 'A Married Man's Story', an unfinished work that Mansfield began shortly before her death in 1923. As in the cinema of attractions, linear plotting and causality in the story are replaced by a fragmented

temporality, as the 'seeing eye' of the narrative from the perspective of the eponymous 'married man' moves freely backwards and forwards in time and space. The story is suggestive of the techniques that are commonly cited as 'cinematic' in Joyce's fiction: while contemplating his unsuccessful marriage, the narrator remains physically static while his gaze moves outwards, imaginatively panning across the country and focusing on a variety of disparate scenes, much like Gabriel's mobilized gaze over Ireland at the conclusion of Joyce's 'The Dead' (1914). As well as this visual displacement of space, both Mansfield and Joyce also make use of temporal distortions, using a technique comparable to cinematic cutting or inserts in lantern images in order to move freely between various moments in the lives of their protagonists. In an essay on the cinematicity of Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916), Keith Williams writes, 'Joyce effectively overlaps three separate layers of time like lantern images or film scenes shimmering in and out of one another – interweaving narrative present, past and possible future'.[50] A similar displacement occurs throughout 'A Married Man's Story'; as the narrator thinks of his childhood, he notes that 'to explain what happened then I should have to go back and back, to dwindle until my tiny hands clutched the bannisters, the stair-rail was higher than my head, and I peered through to watch my father padding softly up and down'.[51] This transformative effect is particularly cinematic, with actors shrinking, growing, or transforming into different people being a staple of the cinema of attractions. The narrator in this case appears to be going back in time, almost as if rewinding through years of life until he again physically inhabits the body of a child.

During these immersive memories, Mansfield also uses visual effects to recreate the sensation of fear and uneasiness that pervades the narrator's childhood. His fear of his father is introduced as he describes a vivid memory of watching his father ascending the stairs: during his immersive flashback to his childhood, he remembers 'there were coloured windows on the landings. As he came up, first his bald head was scarlet; then it was yellow. How frightened I was!'[52] A similar transformation of the familiar can be found in Mansfield's earlier story 'Prelude', which also subjectively presents a child's perspective on the unknown as Kezia looks through coloured glass windows and sees her familiar home become alien and threatening. In both stories, the expressionistic colours Mansfield chooses are suggestive of film or magic lantern effects, in which key slides or film strips were hand-tinted to express emotion or emphasise a subjective impression of a scene, such as in Gaston Velle's film *La Poule aux oeufs d'or* (1905), in which the protagonist's greed and then his guilt are suggested by the red and yellow tints (fig. 37). The superimposed eyes in the second shot are a return to the visual effects of the magic lantern and phantasmagoria, in which disembodied eyes could suggest a supernatural presence, or illustrate subjective emotions in a silent medium. The use of colour as a means of visually representing a character's subjectivity also appears in 'Prelude', when Kezia looks

through coloured glass in a window to see the familiar become transformed, as first the lawn and then her sister Lottie appear blue and then yellow: 'Was that really Lottie? Kezia was not quite sure until she had looked through the ordinary window'.[53] Rather than explicitly stating that Kezia is worried about moving away from her childhood home, Mansfield expresses this in visual terms, as Kezia experiences an uncanny shift from the familiar to the strange.

Fig. 37: *La Poule aux oeufs d'or*

In 'A Married Man's Story', the bright, sickly colours as well as the coloured glass that cast them also introduce the connection between the father and his profession as a pharmacist. The subjectivity of the narrator's memory is emphasised as whenever he visualises his father, he is behind the pharmacy counter, surrounded by medicine bottles. The narrator reveals that 'his image, cut off at the waist by the counter, has remained solid in my memory',[54] suggesting the image of the father has been imaginatively cut out, remaining a constant while the scenes around him transform. In magic lantern shows, a commonly used special effect was the outline image: on these slides, a key feature of the scene would remain the same, and everything around its outline would change through dissolves. An image on a slide would be displayed, and then a cut out, slightly altered

Fig. 38: *Mechanical Magic Lantern Slip Slide - Eastern Man Head Trick*

version of the image on a second slide would be slid over the top to make the image appear to move. This technique could be used to create magical transformations, such as a man losing and regaining his head (fig. 38), or it could be used to move an image of a character between different backgrounds. Similar transportational effects appear in the magic lantern adaptation of Dickens's 'The Story of the Goblins who Stole a Sexton', which appeared in *The Pickwick Papers* in 1836. The narrative anticipates *A Christmas Carol*, following the story of Gabriel Grub, a reclusive and ill-tempered gravedigger who is kidnapped by goblins who attempt to persuade him to change his ways by showing him images of the future. These future visions are represented in the lantern adaptation as a series of inserts that appear within an outline image displaying Gabriel and the Goblin King in a cave (fig. 39), in an effect comparable to the father in 'A Married Man's Story' remaining a constant, still presence while the scenes around him transform. In her article on 'Dickensian "Dissolving Views"', Joss Marsh points out that the relationship between Dickens's fiction and the magic lantern was not one sided: although Dickens's work was commonly adapted for lantern shows, Dickens himself often drew on the optical effects of the lantern in his own writing. According to Marsh, Gabriel's journey in 'The Story of the Goblins who Stole a Sexton' was inspired by an effect that was being used at the London Polytechnic through a vertical panorama, in which a man is pulled through the earth into a goblin's cavern.[55]

Fig. 39: *Slide 12 – The Father and Mother were Old and Helpless Now*

Returning to Mansfield, further visual transformations appear in 'A Married Man's Story' after it is revealed that the father poisoned the narrator's mother, with the father and his sinister profession visually combining to become one. The narrator remembers the morning of his mother's funeral, stating, 'I saw my father dressed up for his part, hat and all. That tall hat gleaming black and round

was like a cork covered with black sealing-wax, and the rest of my father was awfully like a bottle, with his face for the label – *Deadly Poison*. It flashed into my mind as I stood opposite him in the hall'.[56] This transformation is reminiscent of a cinematic dissolve, with the father's silhouetted figure in its funereal attire visually matching the shape of the poison bottle. The words 'flashed into my mind' are also cinematically suggestive, emphasising the narrator's sudden shock as well as implying that this disturbing image has been photographically fixed in his consciousness. Mansfield's use of this dissolve was possibly inspired by an effect in Fritz Lang's film *Destiny* (1922), in which a glass transforms into an hourglass as a symbol of mortality.

As well as the influence of the cinema of attractions in 'A Married Man's Story', Mansfield also uses cinematic effects to illustrate the role of women in her society, examining married life from a critical perspective. The opening of the narrative presents the role of each of the family members in visual terms, as the narrator sets the scene in minute detail like the mise-en-scène of a film script, with lighting, colour and the exact position and actions of each character being taken into account. In a verbal evocation of high and low angle shots, the narrator describes himself as the dominant figure in the scene as he sits at his writing table 'facing the room' while his wife is in a subservient position in her 'low chair by the fire'.[57] Their activities also enforce their conformation to traditional domestic roles, as the husband is surrounded by books and papers - 'all the paraphernalia, in fact, of an extremely occupied man',[58] – while the wife prepares the baby for bed. In spite of these props, however, the authenticity of this scene is called into question by projection-like shadow effects on the walls as the narrator watches his wife: 'as the fire quickens, falls, flares again, her shadow – an immense *Mother and Child* – is here and gone again upon the wall…'[59] The dual images of mother and child can be read as a visualisation of the wife's duality: as with Mansfield's mirror motif, the shadow implies that the wife is only able to attain an insubstantial projection of the role that society expects her to inhabit, as it is subsequently revealed that in spite of the apparent domesticity of the scene, the wife in reality has little connection with her child and is possibly suffering from post-natal depression. The 'Mother and Child' shadow therefore illustrates the unspoken tension between the couple due to the wife's failure to fulfil her allotted role, as she is haunted by the shadowy image of perfect motherhood that she is unable to live up to. The shadowy Madonna on the wall is also comparable to Gilman's shadow woman in the wallpaper, with her struggle to escape the 'bars' that enclose her reflecting the narrator's sensation of entrapment in her marriage. The husband accuses his wife of deviating from the physicality and earthiness that he has learned to expect of motherhood, commenting that 'my wife doesn't seem to me the type of woman who bears children in her own body'.[60] Mansfield is frequently preoccupied by this lack of connection between body and self, as her female characters experience uncanny moments of disconnection between how they

appear and what they regard as their 'true selves'. As in previous stories, Mansfield also takes the opportunity to draw attention to the double standards of the expectations placed upon parents in her society. While the wife is considered 'unnatural' for her lack of maternal instinct, the husband's similar rejection of his child is not stigmatized. Much like Stanley in 'Prelude' and Harry in 'Bliss', he sees the baby as alien, referring to him as 'it' and, echoing Eliot's *Prufrock*, as 'a young crab'.[61]

The power relations between husband and wife in the story are also represented visually through the differing ways in which their gazes upon one another are described. Although the wife challenges the husband for daydreaming rather than finishing his work, the lack of conviction behind her words is revealed as he reflects that 'it is strange that with her full, open gaze, she should smile so timidly'.[62] Although she is upset, she is forced to mediate her emotions by maintaining a smile at all times, as well as only addressing him in 'a hesitating voice'. The husband's gaze by contrast is far more threatening, as she physically recoils from his stare: 'Then I really meet her gaze, meet it fully, and I fancy her face quivers'. The gaze seems to take on a tangible presence, as the husband notes with satisfaction 'There! I seem to see it dart at her'.[63] The underlying tension between the couple is never directly confronted in the narrative, yet through this series of cinematic 'close ups' on their faces as they interact, the loveless and unequal nature of their marriage is revealed: much like in 'Prelude', the husband's strength, virility and self-assuredness are presented in sharp contrast to the wife's loss of equivalent qualities through the pressure of constantly being required to provide emotional support. Mansfield experienced similar expectations in her relationship with Murry, writing to him after an argument explaining how he had pushed her to a breaking point: 'However ill I am you are more ill. However weak I am you are weaker – less able to bear things. […] The effort to keep perpetually radiant was too great. But you asked it of me'.[64] While such blunt accusations rarely appear in Mansfield's fiction, her reliance on the visual allows her to subtly critique the unfair expectation on women to provide emotional labour for the men in their lives.

The cinematicity of 'A Married Man's Story' also relates to Littau's observations on physiological aesthetics in art and literature. Littau discusses studies carried out by Vernon Lee and Clementina Anstruther-Thomson to examine reactions to different visual stimuli in art, in which the two concluded that viewing certain lines and patterns can evoke a physical response, changing viewers' breathing rates and causing them to imitate the artworks they see through movement.[65] Littau suggests that this new recognition of movement in still images is symptomatic of a shift to a modern, cinematic way of viewing the world around us, a part of the new cinematic imagination in which 'old technology' is viewed 'through the lens of a new technology'.[66] This connection between subject and object appears in several of Mansfield's short stories, from Laura's eroticised reaction to the lilies in 'The Garden Party' to Bertha's light-headedness in 'Bliss' as she watches the table 'melting' and the

bowl 'floating' in the air. A similarly physical response occurs in 'A Married Man's Story', as the narrator experiences an intense sensation of connection to the world around him as the shadows in his candlelit room appear to make all of its inanimate objects come alive. As he watches these shadows, he becomes momentarily paralysed, yet his realisation of the 'life' at the heart of all things brings about a release from his sensation of loneliness that mirrors the movement of the objects around him. The reoccurring motif throughout the story of the narrator as a plant kept in a dark cupboard concludes as 'the shrivelled case of the bud split and fell, the plant in the cupboard came into flower'.[67] The flickering shadows that lead to this epiphanic moment also provide a reference to the Plato's cave allegory, as the narrator revels in his escape from 'the cupboard – or the cave forlorn'.[68] As in Lee and Anstruther-Thomson's studies, the physicality of this response to moving images transcends language, as the story ends with the narrator's assertion that 'I from that night did beyond words consciously turn towards my silent brothers'.[69]

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V. Multimedia Mansfield: 'Miss Brill' and the Theatrical Féerie

In addition to the magic lantern show and phantasmagoria, visual technologies were also key elements of many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century theatre productions. The earliest narrative films, created by French filmmakers like Méliès, all displayed a propensity for fantastic subject matter, with each new film aiming to outshine its predecessors with increasingly elaborate special effects and spectacle, such as Méliès's *The Kingdom of the Fairies* (1899), a poetic adaptation of a popular stage pantomime *Biche au Bois* complete with extravagant sets and surreal special effects. The popularity of this genre of enchantment in early French cinema in particular can be traced back to its stage antecedent, the theatrical féerie. In his study on theatrical transformations, Kristian Moen describes the féerie as a form of popular nineteenth-century theatrical show that combined elaborate visuals in its sets and costume designs with increasingly complex machinery, delighting audiences with both visual spectacle and dazzling special effects. While first appearing at the turn of the nineteenth century, the féerie saw a surge in popularity in the 1860s, a seminal decade of technological innovation. The féerie was an inherently intermedial form: Moen suggests that it was partly inspired by the transformations and mutability of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century painting,[70] while contemporary reviews compare the visual effects of the féerie to architecture – 'architectural splendours designed and composed by masters'[71] – as well as optical toys – 'the stage, like a kaleidoscope that one turns, changes and recomposes perpetually'.[72] The diverse nature of these comparisons emphasises the rich potential of the féerie genre to provide a

synthesis of the arts, combining the traditionally solid and monumental qualities of architecture with the colour and movement of the kaleidoscope.

The overlap between the féerie and literary creation is also evident through an examination of contemporary reviews. Author and critic Louis Ulbach suggested that eligibility for the Legion of Honour should be extended to operators of theatrical machinery – 'the great unknown artist who prepares these fabulous transformations'[73] - as they rival authors in their creative skill. The boundaries between art, literature and technology are similarly blurred in Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé's description of the luminous fountains at the 1900 Exposition Universale in Paris, a spectacle that Moen suggests displayed both the stunning visuals and the technological advancements of the féerie.[74] In his account of this display, de Vogüé interprets the visual spectacle in terms of both literature and music, describing the engineer of the fountains as 'a poet' and suggesting that '[w]hen the defined retina will distinguish, in the chromatic range of colours in movement, the vibrations that the ear perceives as sounds, there will be found perhaps a Chopin or a Liszt who will ravish souls with visual melodies'.[75] In this remarkable account, de Vogüé breaks down not only the barriers between different media, but also the senses, as light is perceived as poetry and colour transforms into sound. The rapid leap from the comparison with poetry to the comparison with music enhances the impression that to nineteenth-century audiences, the arts were becoming interchangeable, using varying and constantly shifting forms in the pursuit of a common goal. De Vogüé's appeal to the senses also anticipates twentieth-century experiments in capturing sensory experience in new ways through the amalgamation of art forms: a similar work that combined sound and colour appeared in London fourteen years after the Exposition's fountains in the form of Duncan Grant's art installation *Abstract Kinetic Collage Painting with Sound*, or more simply *The Scroll* (fig. 40), which featured a series of abstract shapes which scrolled past a viewing aperture to the accompaniment of music by

Fig. 40: *Abstract Kinetic Collage Painting with Sound*, or *The Scroll*

Bach. Similarly, attempts to visually portray music reached a mainstream audience in Disney's 1940 film *Fantasia*, which presented a series of animated accompaniments to classical music ranging from narratives with characters to more abstract series of lines and shapes in motion (fig. 41). The loose, curving brushstrokes in the first image represent the strings section in Bach's *Toccata and Fugue in D*

Minor, while the second image from the 'Meet the Soundtrack' section presents the soundtrack as a character who takes on different shapes based on the sounds played.

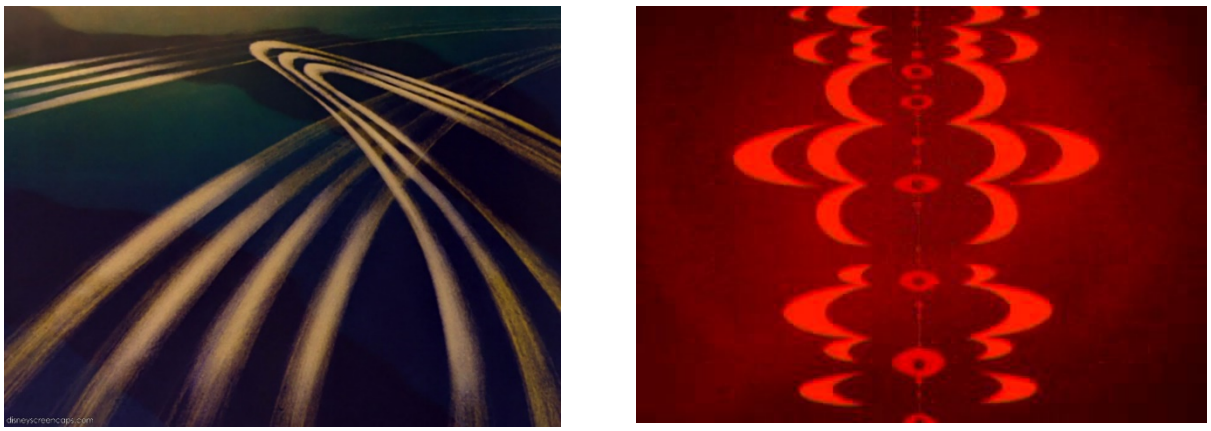

Fig. 41: *Fantasia*

In addition to these experiments in the visual arts, a similar sense of mutability was beginning to characterise the literature of the period. Sturken and Cartwright argue that 'culture is not so much a set of things (television shows or paintings, for example) as a set of processes or practises through which individuals or groups come to make sense of things, including their own individual identities within and even against or outside the group'.[76] It is impossible to ignore the painterly depiction of sensation in the works of Baudelaire and Colette, the influence of cinematic editing techniques on Joyce's *Ulysses*, and the morbid fascination with technology and transmission in Eliot. However, perhaps one of the most varied examples of this synaesthesia in the arts can be found in Mansfield's works. Mansfield was a keen musician, aspiring from an early age to become a professional cellist like her friend Thomas Trowell. Mansfield accompanied Trowell's violinist brother Garnet as he toured the United Kingdom with the Moody-Manners Opera Company, of which Mansfield was briefly a member of the chorus. In Mansfield's writing, the boundaries between sound, word and image are often blurred: at the age of fifteen, she freely moves from written language to music in her letters, sketching out a line of musical notation mid-sentence to describe the song of a bird.[77] Later, in a letter to Ottoline Morrell, sound takes on Impressionist qualities as Mansfield asks 'how can one remain *calm* when even the barrel organ seems to put forth new leaves and buds', a vision that reveals her lack of discrimination between high and low culture, gaining equal imaginative visions from both orchestral music and simple street entertainment.[78] Similar visions also appear in her fiction, such as 'In the Botanical Gardens' (1907), in which she describes looking at plants and seeing them transform: 'I stare up at them, and suddenly the green hedge is a stave, and the cabbage trees, now high, now low, have become an arrangement of notes – a curious, pattering, native melody'.[79] This botanical notation anticipates the visual and auditory experiments of films like *Fantasia*, as well as potentially being inspired by the poetry of William Blake, who used images of

plants intertwining with written words in his *Songs of Innocence* (1789) and *Songs of Experience* (1794). Much like Blake, Mansfield uses these intermedial effects as a means of drawing attention to the truths that most people in her society choose to ignore, in this case the oppression of the native Maoris and their land by pakeha colonizers. The 'native melody' that is visually encoded in the trees suggests that in spite of the perceived civilised nature of the gardens, with their imported plants and white, upper-class visitors, Maori culture still endures behind this thin veneer.

Mansfield's 1920 short story 'Miss Brill' is particularly reminiscent of the féerie, as word, image, music and colour combine to create a theatrical scene. Mansfield consciously drew on other forms of media while composing this narrative, mentioning in a letter to her brother-in-law Richard Murry that 'in Miss Brill I chose not only the length of every sentence, but even the sound of every sentence – I chose the rise and fall of every paragraph to fit her – and to fit her on that day at that very moment. After Id written it I read it aloud – numbers of times – just as one would play over a musical composition, trying to get it nearer and nearer to the expression of Miss Brill – until it fitted her'.[80] In the story, Mansfield uses music to establish mood, allowing a multisensory insight into her protagonist's impressions. In addition to the expressive sound that pervades the narrative, its carefully timed pauses and moments of silence are equally vital to its musical structure, as Delia da Sousa Correa points out.[81] Mansfield's musical education and love of performance is evident in all of her writing, as her fondness for dashes and ellipses suggests – she had an ear for a well-timed sentence, knowing exactly where to pause for dramatic emphasis. In 'Miss Brill', the long, heavily punctuated sentences and repeated phrases align the story with sonata form, as the words musically rise and fall and leitmotifs provide emotional impact. As Miss Brill reflects on what she perceives as her vital role in the scene she observes, the text takes on particularly musical undertones: 'And then she too, she too, and the others on the benches – they would come in with a kind of accompaniment – something low, that scarcely rose or fell, something so beautiful, moving… And Miss Brill's eyes filled with tears and she looked smiling at all the other members of the company'.[82] The repetition of 'she too' creates a plaintive effect, revealing Miss Brill's desperation to be included, a vital part of this vibrant scene as much as any one voice in an orchestra. In spite of this desire for participation in life, Miss Brill's ambitions are humble, casting herself and the other elderly people in the park as the 'accompaniment' rather than a main melody, although she recognises that the accompaniment is a vital part of an orchestral piece, just as society requires individuals of all ages and experience in order to effectively function. However, these musical reflections are subsequently shattered as Miss Brill overhears a young couple mocking her, forcing her to realise that rather than being part of a collective, she is unwanted and out of place. Da Sousa Correa sees the pauses in the narrative as 'a space for lament' for Miss Brill and all of the lonely, silent people in the park.[83] This silence endures

when Miss Brill returns home: earlier, her previously unrecognised sadness – much like Bertha's perceived 'bliss' - had made her 'want to sing', but this is now revealed to be a cry of thinly-veiled anguish.[84] Just as Bertha associates her feeling of 'bliss' with the pear tree, Miss Brill also displaces her grief onto another non-human object, her fox fur necklet, imagining tears being attributed to it while she herself is silent. In Mansfield's writing as well as the works of other modernist women, silence can however be read as a rebellious act. In a society in which discourse is dominated by male voices and the female voice is dismissed and Othered, non-verbal forms of communication are a way of creating meaning beyond words. The silent, dehumanised Other is embodied in the Kelvey children in 'The Doll's House' (1921), yet the two girls use silence as a means of asserting agency, refusing to respond to insults: '"Is it true you're going to be a servant when you grow up, Lil Kelvey?" shrilled Lena. Dead silence. But instead of answering, Lil only gave her silly shamefaced smile. She didn't seem to mind the question at all. What a sell for Lena! The girls began to titter'.[85] While Lil Kelvey does occasionally speak, her younger sister 'our Else' seems to be entirely mute, until the end of the narrative when she delivers a single line, 'I seen the little lamp'.[86] This rare moment of verbal communication reveals the impact of the kindness extended by Kezia, as she goes against the wishes of her family and friends to share her doll's house with the Kelveys. The significance of the visual and the auditory in Mansfield's fiction is therefore a means of avoiding the need for direct speech, addressing important issues through analogies with other art forms.

Returning to 'Miss Brill', the band provides an accompaniment to the scenes viewed by Miss Brill, with their music changing to reflect her emotions. Her arrival in the park is heralded by an upbeat opening piece, seeming 'louder and gayer'[87] than previous weeks, emphasising Miss Brill's excitement that the summer Season is beginning. The exuberance of these sounds is also reflected in the visuals, as Miss Brill notices that the conductor is wearing a smart new coat, and compares his emphatic movements to 'a rooster about to crow'.[88] Interestingly, the music itself is also described in visual terms in this scene, as Miss Brill refers to a refrain played by a flute as 'a little chain of bright drops',[89] reflecting de Vogüé's comments on breaking down both medial and sensory boundaries as the auditory is transformed into the visual. Similar visual spectacles occur in the following sequence of the narrative as Miss Brill sits in a static position and watches brightly-dressed people pass by, with their actions within the confined space of her visual field – stopping to greet one another, buying bunches of flowers – appearing staged, like the choreographed movements in the theatre.

In contrast to this lively scene, 'Miss Brill' also features a micronarrative within the flow of the text, as the action briefly shifts to focus on two characters, the 'ermine toque' and the 'gentleman in grey'. The shift to this narrative is heralded in the text by a bunch of cascading violets, and, much like in the féerie, Miss Brill's view is transformed. Gautier's comparison of the shifting views of the féerie

to a kaleidoscope is recalled, as all the elements of the scene around Miss Brill have been reassembled, the colour and motion of the previous scene fading and being replaced with a narrative vignette. An effect similar to a magic lantern outline image is created: as with 'A Married Man's Story', one part of the action is 'zoomed in' on while the scene around this remains out-of-focus and unchanged. Miss Brill's role as camera eye is emphasised as she scrutinises the woman she refers to as the 'ermine toque', implicitly a prostitute soliciting customers. Miss Brill's gaze pans over her body, noting that 'everything, her hair, her face, even her eyes, was the same colour as the shabby ermine, and her hand, in its cleaned glove, lifted to dab her lips, was a tiny yellowish paw'.[90] Mansfield's use of colour in this scene is significant: the vibrant primary colours of the previous scene are recalled in a momentary imagined flashback to the woman buying her hat in the past, 'when her hair was yellow'[91], but as Miss Brill returns to the present moment, this flash of brightness fades to the shabby greyness of the woman's current appearance, the word 'yellowish' implying the failure of her attempts to cling to youthful vigour. The interchangeability of the woman's self and her clothing ironically mirrors Miss Brill's own projection of her emotions onto her foxfur, foreshadowing her realisation that she too appears faded and ridiculous due to her age, an outsider in the pageant she attempts to join.

As well as being the source of their ridicule, both Miss Brill and the ermine toque's clothing creates an association between them and the animals they wear. The attribution of animal-like characteristics to people is common across Mansfield's work, particularly among her female characters who move outside of the boundaries of social acceptability: In 'Bliss', Bertha's outspoken and unconventionally dressed friend Face is repeatedly referred to as a monkey;[92] Josephine and Constantia's housemaid Kate dismisses her nagging employers as 'old tabbies'[93] in 'The Daughters of the Late Colonel'; while the eponymous Mouse in 'Je ne parle pas français' undergoes a series of comparisons to small, fragile creatures, emphasising the fatal consequences of her naivety.[94] Mansfield herself experienced similar animal comparisons: Virginia Woolf, who shifted between admiration and envy of Mansfield's work, notoriously claimed that she 'stank like a civet cat', while Mansfield's friend and mentor A. R. Orage nicknamed her 'the marmozet' due to what he considered her 'vulgar and enterprising' behaviour.[95] The regularity with which these comparisons appear emphasises the inferior treatment of women in Mansfield's society, and the alarming regularity with which they are dehumanised, particularly when their actions and lifestyles fall outside the narrow boundaries of acceptability that are afforded to their sex. The failure to act in an appropriately demure fashion, the desire for respect, both as a woman and as a writer, or even the audacity to age in a society in which a woman's perceived worth is intrinsically tied to her beauty and fertility, are all crimes which destroy a woman's right to be considered a human being.

Returning to the narrative of the ermine toque, another woman who is mocked for her age and attempts at flirtatiousness, the scene ends with her public humiliation at the hands of the gentleman in grey, as he blows cigar smoke in her face and walks away. In contrast to the upbeat music that characterised the previous scene, the music changes to reflect the tone, playing 'softly' and 'tenderly'[96] to reflect Miss Brill's pity for the ermine toque, and swelling to a crescendo that seems to be chanting 'The Brute! The Brute!'[97] as the gentleman in grey insults her. The intermedial qualities of the story are accentuated, as colour and sound are equally important to action, allowing the deceptively simple narrative to become nuanced and layered. As the ermine toque disappears from view in a cruel subversion of a féerie-like puff of smoke, the scene before Miss Brill transforms again, revealing the colourful and fast-moving crowds from earlier in the narrative. The musical accompaniment is similarly transformed, with the band playing 'more quickly, more gaily than ever'.[98] This quickening of pace potentially also suggests tension, however, adding almost a manic edge to the previously fast-paced yet controlled scene. The seemingly choreographed movements of the people Miss Brill watches similarly seem to be spiralling out of control, as a group of 'four girls walking abreast' almost knock over 'such a funny old man with long whiskers' who 'hobble[s] along in time with the music'.[99] Both the sound and visuals in this sequence illustrate Miss Brill's growing realisation that she has no place in the modern world. While she still assures herself that she is 'part of the performance'[100] – another suggestively theatrical term – the image of the old man struggling to keep up with the music and being pushed aside by a wall of vigorous youths implies that Miss Brill too is an unwelcome character in this vibrant scene. A similar auditory effect appears in 'Night Came Swiftly': Pearl experiences the 'absurd fantasy' that she is 'conducting an Orchestra that would not heed her signals to stop but continued playing more and more fiercely',[101] subjectively revealing her sensation that the world around her is spiralling out of control. In 'Miss Brill', the motif of boxes and cupboards that runs throughout the narrative comes to a head as Miss Brill realises that she too is expected to shut herself away out of sight, as a beautiful young couple, the 'hero and heroine', mock her, laughing at the unfashionable foxfur stole in which she took so much pride and asking one another 'why does she come here at all – who wants her? Why doesn't she keep her silly old mug at home?'[102] Taking this ending into consideration, the music of the previous scene suggests panic, as Miss Brill unconsciously begins to realise that her time is running out: like so many of Mansfield's protagonists, Miss Brill's age, sex and unmarried status lead her to be shunned by those around her, as society dictates that she is no longer deserving of the privileges that she once enjoyed.

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While there is evidence to suggest that Mansfield's fiction is cinematic, as academics like Sandley and Ascari point out, it is possible to argue that this 'cinematicity' predates the cinema itself.

Throughout the nineteenth century, new forms of visual media began to influence both modern thought and fiction, resulting in what Littau refers to as 'a displacement of word by image'.[103] The influence of optical toys, the magic lantern and the theatrical féerie is evident in Mansfield's writing, with her stories providing multisensory and multimedia accounts of her characters' experiences. An effect comparable to magic lantern superimpositions appears in stories like 'Pictures' and 'At the Bay', with characters 'seeing' projected images and potential glimpses into their futures. According to Brecht and Chesterton, the age of visual media altered not only how we write, but also how we read, with the short story form reflecting the rapid, impressionistic pace of modern life.

In addition to her allusions to optical toys, Mansfield frequently uses visual effects in her fiction as a means of expressing sensations that her characters lack the words to articulate. A subjective visualisation of women's entrapment in the expected roles of marriage and motherhood appears in 'Prelude', with expressive object animation revealing Linda's troubled mental state. Mansfield also turns to the visual in order to indirectly explore taboo subjects, as in 'Vignette: Summer in Winter', as her protagonist's desire – and subsequent guilt – is revealed through phantasmagoric shadows. Similarly innovative visual effects appear throughout 'A Married Man's Story', again as a means of criticising the institution of marriage, as well as confronting childhood abuse. The immersive temporal shifts that the married man experiences emphasise the power of memory, as the smallest trigger has the potential to return him to a time of trauma. The modern fascination with the conjunction of sound, word and image is also explored in 'Miss Brill', as the barriers between media break down, creating a multisensory experience. By drawing inspiration from the media-rich culture in which she was raised, Mansfield was able to experiment with visual effects in order to provide glimpses into her characters' lives and experiences. The fact that many of these encounters are uncomfortable or traumatic again draws attention to the political message of Mansfield's fiction, as she advocated for women to have agency and a healthier relationship with the men in their lives.

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[2] Ibid., p.2.
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[4] Bertolt Brecht, *Bertolt Brecht on Film and Radio*, ed. and trans. Marc Silberman (London: Methuen, 2000), p.8.
[5] Littau, p.68.
[6] Ian Christie, 'Moving-picture Media and Modernity: Taking Intermediate and Ephemeral Forms Seriously', in *Cinematicity in Media History*, pp.46-64, (p.51).
[7] Cohen, p.51.
[8] John Locke, 'Essay Concerning Human Understanding', Bk. II, chap. 14, p.9.

[9] Mansfield, *Selected Letters*, pp.19-20.
[10] Mansfield, 'Pictures', p.178.
[11] Frank Gray, '*The Kiss in the Tunnel* (1899), G. A. Smith and the Emergence of Edited Film in England', in *The Silent Cinema Reader*, eds Lee Grieveson and Peter Krämer (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 51-62, (p.53).
[12] Mansfield, 'At the Bay', p.368.
[13] Ibid., p.361.
[14] Mansfield, 'Pictures', p.184.
[15] Littau, p.68.
[16] Brecht, 'The Three Penny Trial: A Sociological Experiment' in *German Essays on Film*, eds Richard W. McCormick and Alison Guenther-Pal, trans. Lance W. Garmer (New York: Continuum, 2004), pp.111-32, (p.113).
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[18] G. K. Chesterton, quoted in Otto Glassner's 'Wilhelm Conrad Roentgen and the Early History of the Roentgen Rays' (Springfield, IL: CC Thomas, 1934), p.292.
[19] Andrew Shail, 'Introduction', in *Reading the Cinematograph: The Cinema in British Short Fiction 1896-1912*, ed. Andrew Shail (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2010), pp.1-17, (p.10).
[20] Littau, p.75.
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[23] Gilman, p.7.
[24] Ibid., p.5, p.7.
[25] Ibid., p.5, p.4.
[26] Littau, p.81.
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[30] Mansfield, 'Prelude', p.68.
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[33] Mansfield, 'Prelude', p.62.
[34] Ibid., p.62.
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[36] Mansfield, *Journal*, p.41.
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[52] Ibid., p.385.

[53] Mansfield, 'Prelude', p.59.
[54] Mansfield, 'A Married Man's Story', pp.385-6.
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[56] Mansfield, 'A Married Man's Story', p.388.
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[58] Ibid., p.380.
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[60] Ibid., p.381.
[61] Ibid., p.381.
[62] Ibid., p.381.
[63] Ibid., p.381.
[64] Mansfield, *Selected Letters*, p.159.
[65] Littau, pp.73-74.
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[83] Correa, p.30.
[84] Mansfield, 'Miss Brill', p.253.
[85] Mansfield, 'The Doll's House', in *Collected Fiction*, Vol. II, pp.414-21, (p.418).
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[88] Ibid., p.251.
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[90] Ibid., p.252.
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[92] Mansfield, 'Bliss', p.146, p.147, p.149.
[93] Mansfield, 'The Daughters of the Late Colonel', p.268.
[94] Mansfield, 'Je ne parle pas français', p.126.
[95] John Carswell, *Lives and Letters: A. R. Orage, Katherine Mansfield, Beatrice Hastings, John Middleton Murry, S. S. Koteliansky, 1906-1957* (London: Faber, 1978), p.75.
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[97] Ibid., p.253.
[98] Ibid., p.253.
[99] Ibid., p.253.
[100] Ibid., p.253.
[101] Mansfield, 'Night Came Swiftly', p.72.
[102] Mansfield, 'Miss Brill', p.254.
[103] Littau, p.81.

Chapter 5: 'A Certain Spontaneous Magic': Mansfield and the Moving Panorama

When exploring the history of visual entertainment, it is evident that some forms of media have been better documented than others. The magic lantern and its impact on both entertainment and education in the Victorian era is the subject of various studies, with lantern shows generally also being acknowledged in historical accounts of the birth of cinema. An impressive variety of the optical toys and domestic forms of visual entertainment that also flooded the market during this time have been preserved in museums, and toys like the kaleidoscope and the zoetrope still appear in toyshops and classrooms today. Undeniably the most well-documented visual medium of all is the cinema, the history of which is well-known both inside and outside academic discourse, as attested to by the enduring cultural myth of audiences of the Lumière brothers' *L'arrivée d'un train* running from the theatre, startled by the realism of this new illusion. However, another equally popular and culturally relevant form of visual entertainment existed in the nineteenth century, although unfortunately it has received only a fraction of the level of preservation and critical debate that has been afforded to its contemporaries. This forgotten form is the panorama, and in this chapter I aim to trace the history of the medium and examining the impact it had on modern perception, particularly in relation to Mansfield's works.

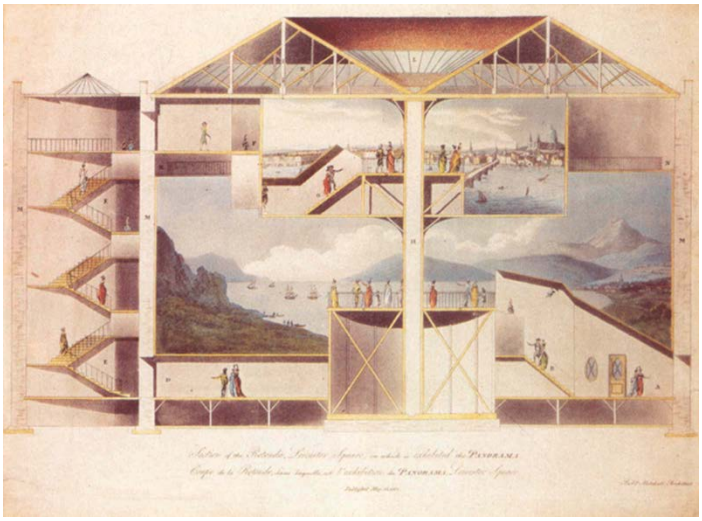


Fig. 42: *Section of the Rotunda, Leicester Square, in which is Exhibited the Panorama*

While the panorama attained its peak of popularity in the mid-nineteenth century, capitalising on the desire for increasingly lifelike and elaborate visual attractions, the birth of the medium dates back to several decades earlier, with the first permanent panorama opening in London's Leicester Square in 1793 (fig. 42). In his comprehensive study of the panorama, Erkki Huhtamo points out that two distinct types of panorama existed alongside one another, and this early iteration was an example of the circular panorama: these were permanent installations, usually in cities, in which

viewers would be presented with incredibly detailed and realistic paintings displayed in large circular viewing galleries, providing a 360° view of a scene. The ends of the painting would seamlessly merge together, while the shape of the room in which it was housed was designed to hide the top and bottom edges from view, transforming the painting 'from a representation into an illusory environment'.[1] Popular subjects for the circular panorama included famous cities of the world, historical scenes, or beautiful natural landscapes, with the medium's debut in London featuring a view of the capital that had been painted by Scottish artist Robert Barker. The second type of panorama was the moving panorama, which first appeared around 1810. The moving panorama had a different cultural impact from its namesake, as its portability meant that it could be displayed both in cities and smaller communities, thus aligning it more with the fairground attraction or travelling show. Although there was no single model for this form of entertainment, most featured an auditorium in which viewers were seated, unlike the gallery-like display of the circular panorama, as well as a painting on a long roll that would be moved across a 'window' by means of a mechanical crank, displaying a moving sequence of images (fig. 43). Some moving panoramas were designed

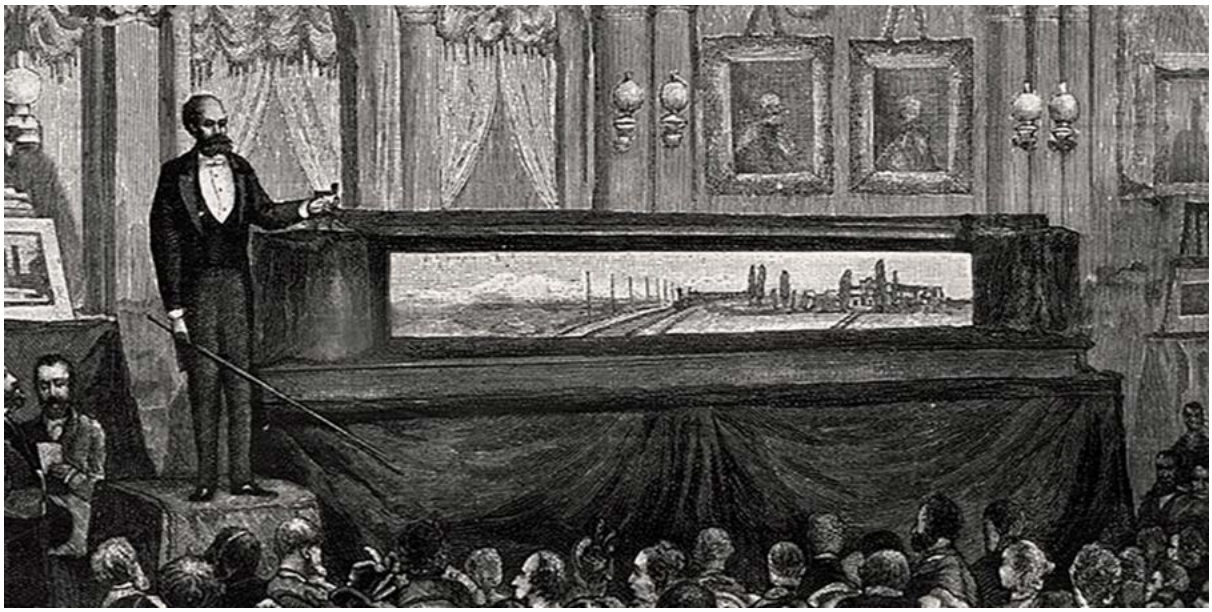


Fig. 43: *Piasetsky Demonstrating a Panorama*

particularly for educational purposes and acted as visual accompaniments to lectures, while others were purely entertaining, and in the inventive age of the nineteenth century in particular, panorama showmen would attempt to outdo their rivals with increasingly elaborate sound and lighting effects, orchestral accompaniments, and incorporation of mechanised elements, in the attempt to create spectacular motion-picture events.[2] Both circular and moving panoramas quickly spread across the world. In Europe, the moving panorama never attained the levels of popularity of its static counterpart, possibly due to language barriers as Huhtamo points out, as the moving panorama was often a narrative medium and therefore lost much of its impact without the accompanying lecturer

or showman.[3] However, in the English-speaking world the panorama was a thriving form of entertainment, not least in Australia and New Zealand, meaning that it is highly likely that the young Mansfield would have attended these shows.

However, despite its popularity throughout the Western world, the panorama remains excluded from the majority of accounts of media history today. Huhtamo suggests that this lack of preservation was initially due to cultural elitism: the panorama occupied a liminal position 'between academic painting and architecture, popular visual spectacles, and the emergent mass culture', with this problematized status between high and low culture resulting in the failure to acknowledge it in all of these potential strands of history.[4] Moving panoramas were considered even more disposable, and few have survived to this day, instead being either displayed until they disintegrated or cut up and used in other forms, such as theatre sets. While the circular panoramas were painted in oils in the tradition of academic art, their moving equivalents were more quickly and economically produced using distemper, a cheap paint used for fairgrounds and theatre. Unlike circular panoramas, they were not designed to fool the eye with their veracity and be displayed in a gallery-like space, but rather to entertain and make a quick profit: according to Huhtamo, 'It was the motion and the added attractions that compensated for the unrefined canvas'.[5]

While this rapid, disposable mode of production meant that the moving panoramas were not valued in or directly after their time, in retrospect it is now possible to view them as important cultural artefacts, with both their disposability and innovative use of the moving image aligning them with the zeitgeist of modernity. The panorama's attempts to capture a world in motion anticipate Impressionist painting, with artists often painting the same scene multiple times to examine the changing effects of light, much like some moving panoramas that were backlit with a variety of diorama-like effects which had the ability to transform and add motion to a static image. Popular subjects of study for the diorama were the transition between night and day or the effects of seasonal change on a landscape, subjects which similarly fascinated painters like Monet, who famously painted hundreds of views of waterlilies and haystacks, creating a viewing sequence of

environmental change (fig. 44). Similarly, countless evocations of the panorama appear in literature, written by the medium's contemporaries, such as Dickens and Nathaniel Hawthorne, as well as authors writing decades later, from Henry Miller to Arthur C. Clarke.[6] In his study on the works of Baudelaire, Walter Benjamin famously referred to fiction of the late nineteenth century as 'a panorama literature', due to its focus on the visual and on characters' subjective impressions. Benjamin describes Baudelaire's works in particular as 'consist[ing] of individual sketches which, as it were, reproduce the plastic foreground of these panoramas with their anecdotal form and the extensive background of the panoramas with their store of information'.[7] This dissolution of the boundaries between word and image emphasises the modernist desire for a synthesis of the arts, as well as attesting to the strength of the panorama as metaphor, with its cultural influence enduring far beyond the life of the medium itself.

Fig. 44: *Haystacks*

Fig. 45: *Dioramic lithograph of an alpine village*

In light of this, Huhtamo proposes the existence of a third, more abstract panorama form, the 'discursive panorama', and this chapter begins by considering the influence of the medium on Mansfield's fiction. A comparison can be drawn between the 'myriorama' and the structure of the short stories, as they share its brief, fragmented narrative style, as well as the use of travel as a means of distorting time and space. I draw attention to references to the panorama in Mansfield's personal travel writing, followed by a close reading of 'His Sister's Keeper', considering the use of the panorama as a means of presenting sensational or cautionary narratives. With reference to Mimi

Colligan's *Canvas Documentaries*, the second section traces the history of the moving panorama in Australia and New Zealand, discussing its effect on cultural perceptions of 'homeland'. This is an equal concern in Mansfield's fiction, as she interrogates the disconnect between the native Maori people and the pakeha settlers. Next, I consider the panorama in terms of virtual transportation, expanding on my discussions in chapter three regarding the visual impact of new forms of high-speed travel on the Victorian imagination. I argue that the colonial fascination with British life is a particularly gendered phenomenon, as Mansfield longed to escape the 'suitable appropriate existence' imposed on her by her conservative family. Through a discussion of 'It was neither light nor dark in the cabin', this section also addresses the rich variety of visual effects in Mansfield's writing, as well as her fascination with the Dickensian ghost story. Finally, I examine the cyclorama in terms of Mansfield's writing, suggesting that the two forms of media share unique transportational qualities.

***

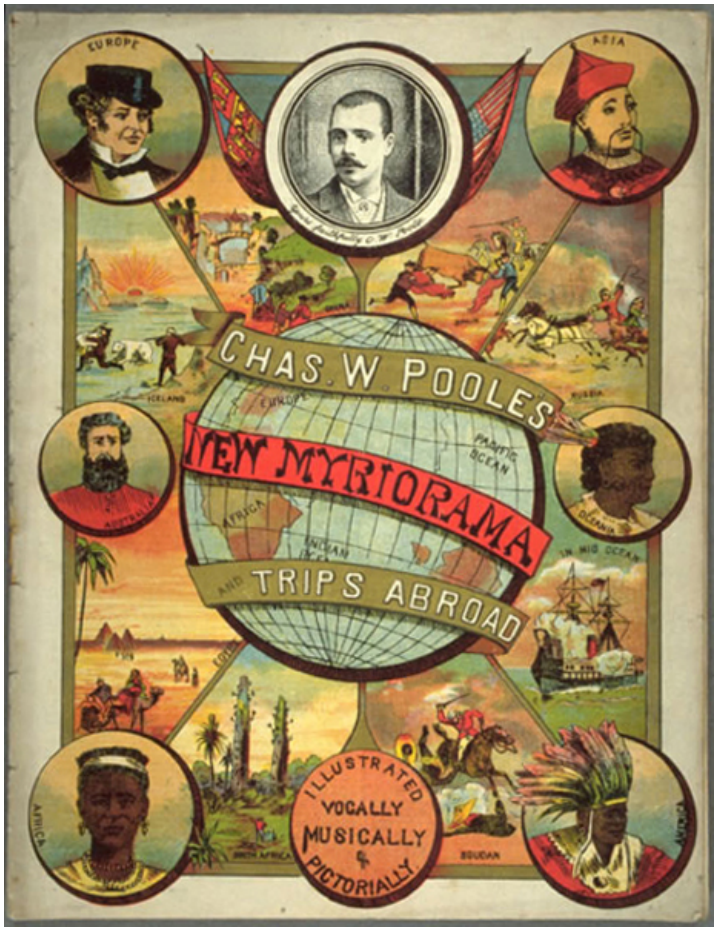
I. The Panorama as Topos: Mansfield's Travel Narratives and the Cautionary Tale

Huhtamo's concept of the 'discursive panorama' refers to the panorama as a figure of speech; or to written, visual or imagined panoramic representations.[8] Although the form itself has not survived, therefore, it endures as a topos – a cultural formula that constantly reappears in new contexts, gaining new meanings and changing how the world is interpreted. According to Huhtamo,

> By being evoked over and over again, the moving panorama turned into a topos that expressed many things: perceptual experiences, changes in the space-time continuum, battles between world views, ideas about the human mind. Its intensive discursive life also contributed to the formation of the media-cultural imaginary.[9]

In addition to its status as topos, the moving panorama also anticipated modernism through its fragmented structure. Unlike the circular panorama, which provided viewers with an all-encompassing, immersive view of a large city or historical event, moving panorama shows leapt between a series of different or disconnected scenes, often focusing on the anecdotal rather than impersonal grandeur. This contrast is comparable to the shift that began to take place in literature in the latter half of the nineteenth century, as the great works of Victorian literature that often featured plots spanning several decades began to be replaced by series of brief, fragmented glimpses into characters' lives. Mansfield's fiction in particular is markedly a rejection of this linear and epic documentation of the age, as she instead chose to focus on characters who would generally

not have been given a voice and depth in the Victorian novel, if they appeared at all – older women, unmarried women, homosexual characters, the working classes – as well as keeping her narratives open-ended, leaving characters' ultimate fates in the hands of the reader. Half a century earlier, several moving panorama shows existed that displayed a similar focus on the marginal, as well as a lack of linearity, such as the Poole brothers' 'myriorama'. The myriorama avoided the conventional 'tourist trap' sights of the panorama, instead presenting glimpses into different cultures through interesting events and a focus on moments in the lives of individuals. Interestingly, the myriorama also broke down the boundaries between past and present: Huhtamo describes Charles W. Poole's *New Myriorama Trips Abroad* as moving freely in time and space, from a special effects-laden recreation of the bombardment of Alexandria, to a scene in ancient Greece entitled 'consulting the oracle', to a humorous present day scene in London in which a man entertains his friends with ghost stories.[10] The equal weighting given to large, historical events and anecdotal moments is also evident on the poster advertising the show (fig. 46): busts of individuals from each continent are presented, framing a comic strip-like series of illustrations hinting at the scenes the show will feature. Some of these illustrations showcase a country's sights, but others are miniature narratives in their own right: sailors battling polar bears in Iceland, bullfighters in Spain, a journey by horse-



drawn sled in Russia.

Fig. 46: *Chas. W. Poole's New Myriorama and Trips Abroad*

Significantly, the poster is designed in a circular pattern, ensuring that no single scene or individual is prioritised – other than Charles Poole himself, who is placed at the top centre. Much like Mansfield, the myriorama created an impression of a larger world, but this blurs into the background, instead providing a cross-section of human experience.

The myriorama's rapid shifts between different time periods and locations relates to Huhtamo's above statement regarding the panorama as topos, as he suggests that the panorama changed cultural perceptions of time and space. As transport technologies improved in the nineteenth century, the understanding of the space-time continuum was irrevocably altered, with the increasing speed and ease of travel allowing the world to become simultaneously compressed and opened up, as discussed in chapter three. However, this paradoxical effect applied not only to physical travellers, but also virtual travellers: an article published in *Punch* magazine in 1850 describes the effect of the moving panorama's compression of the world, stating 'Geography now-a-days is fearfully outraged, in the distribution of the different quarters of the habitable globe, for we find Calcutta within five minutes' walk of the Nile; and the Arctic Regions next door to New Zealand, which is separated from Australia by a narrow neck of cab-stands'.[11] This desire to display the world in terms of a montage-like series of images reflects the structure of Mansfield's works, again suggesting the impact of the panorama and other new forms of visual experience on shaping modern thought. The concept of virtual travel is frequently a theme in the short stories: in 'A Dill Pickle' (1917), the protagonist is transported to another place while listening to a story about Russia – 'she seemed at that moment to be sitting on the grass beside the mysteriously Black Sea, black as velvet'[12] – while in 'A Married Man's Story', the married man takes an imaginative journey across the country from the comfort of his own sitting room – 'while I am here, I am there, lifting my face to the dim sky […] I am arriving in a strange city'.[13] While these narratives feature imaginative journeys through space, other stories such as 'At the Bay' reflect the panorama's ability to transcend both space and time. Like a panorama viewer, Linda in 'At the Bay' remains static while imaginatively travelling back in time to a scene from her past, and then a second layer of immersion in her memory is revealed as she transports herself to another place:

> Now she sat on the veranda of their Tasmanian home, leaning against her father's knee. And he promised, 'As soon as you and I are old enough, Linny, we'll cut off somewhere, we'll escape. Two boys together. I have a fancy I'd like to sail up a river in China.' Linda saw that river, very wide, covered with little rafts and boats. She saw the yellow hats of the boatmen and she heard their high, thin voices as they called…[14]

Crucially, Mansfield presents this scene as not merely a memory: the words 'she saw' are repeated, illustrating Linda's level of visual immersion, as well as 'she heard', emphasising the apparent tangibility of the scene.

The connection between immersive visuals and travel also appears in Mansfield's journal. On returning to New Zealand after her years of freedom in London, her unhappiness is apparent and her journal entries are few, with the notable exception of her trip into the bush in November and December of 1907, which is vividly documented. It can be argued that this transformative interpretation of the journey is partially due to the enduring topos of the moving panorama show, as it provided the public with a form of 'travel' that could transcend boundaries of time and space. The language used in these texts supports this concept of a discursive panorama: in her journal, the scenes Mansfield describes as she watches from the window of the train create almost a scrolling effect, with a 'long succession of brown paddocks', 'a procession of cattle', and 'now and again the silver tree-trunks' which 'invade the hills'.[15] As she arrives at her destination, the panorama is explicitly invoked in the form of 'a perfect panorama of sunset',[16] while a sunrise a few days later seems to draw on diorama lighting effects, with each element of the scene becoming illuminated in turn:

> The sun comes. The poplar is green now. The dew shines on everything - a little flock of geese and goslings float across the river. The mist becomes white, rises from the mountains ahead. There are the pines – and there just on the bank – the flowering *manuka* is a mass of white colour against the blue water. A lark sings, the water bubbles. She can just see ahead the gleam of the rapids. The mist seems rising and falling.
>
> And now the day fully enters with a duet for two oboes. You *hear* it.[17]

This extract attests to the importance of the visual in Mansfield's fiction: even at this young age, her painterly attention to colour and texture is clear. The highly modern concept of a synthesis of several art forms also begins to be explored as the visual comes with a musical accompaniment, anticipating Mansfield's later experiments with visual representations of sound in stories like 'Miss Brill'. The prevalence of such effects throughout Mansfield's body of work again emphasises the cultural shift brought about by new art forms and technologies, as they provided a framework for changes both to language and to people's interpretations of the world.

While the impact of media like the panorama is evident in Mansfield's journal, similar visual effects are also used throughout her fictional works. An early example of this appears in the short story 'His

Sister's Keeper': written shortly after Mansfield travelled alone to Bavaria to have Garnet Trowell's child, the story emphasises her disillusionment with loving relationships. As in many subsequent stories, the majority of the narrative is set on a train, a site of liminality in which both mental and physical journeys are likely to take place, as discussed in chapter three. As the young protagonist travels to begin a new life with her brother, whom she idolises unconditionally, she meets a more experienced counterpart to herself, another young woman who similarly adored her brother, only to have her trust horrifically betrayed. This journey from innocence to experience is visually foreshadowed in the opening passage of the narrative, as the protagonist arrives at the station and contemplates 'the flaring posters on the walls – Normandy, Brittany, Paris, Luxembourg – [which] seemed like magic hands stretched out in anticipation'.[18] These posters act as an advertisement for the subsequent theatrical and panoramic elements that appear throughout the story, as well as presenting the protagonist's character in visual terms. Her innocence and excitement for the journey ahead is implied by her fairy tale-like transformation of the posters, although if the subsequent events of the narrative are taken into account, these 'inviting hands' take on sinister new meaning, a warning against putting one's trust in the seemingly benign. A carnal symbol of the girl's potential fate adds to this sense of unease, as she compares Dieppe to 'the mouth of some great monster'[19] that she feels compelled to enter. The protagonist's view from the window of the train is also described in terms that are suggestive of the panorama: the clouds passing by are referred to as a 'banner' and the fields are a 'tapestry', on which a river appears intermittently, suggesting a series of scrolling images.[20] The apparent unreality of the scene adds to this impression of the outside world as a fairground attraction, as the protagonist gazes upon 'miniature fields girt with Noah's ark trees'.[21] The image of toys in the foreground of a scrolling backdrop can be linked to popular visual attractions like the stéréorama, a variant of the panorama show that used mechanical models to add veracity to a scene, such as moving boats against a background image of waves.

Perhaps the most explicit allusion to the panorama in 'His Sister's Keeper' appears when the protagonist listens to a disturbing story told by her 'Fellow Passenger'. The Fellow Passenger describes a visit to her aunt, which begins with her being collected at the train station by a strange woman claiming to be her aunt's friend. The woman takes her to an unknown house and locks her in a bedroom, and later that night, the girl is raped by her beloved brother, who is revealed to have orchestrated the entire deception. As she is locked up, the girl's imagined reasons for her imprisonment seem to physically appear, creating a visceral, visual representation of fear: 'Stories I had overheard from the servants, newspaper reports that I had half read, vague transitory thoughts I had imagined almost obliterated – they trooped before me now, a hideous procession of hideous realities'.[22] The words 'trooped' and 'procession' are particularly suggestive of a panorama-like

effect, while the 'hideous' subject matter possibly recalls another popular genre of the panorama show, the sensational or cautionary narrative. Some example of these visual narratives that were designed to shock are 'Johnson's Moving Panorama of the Drunkard', a moralistic tale warning of the dangers of alcohol addiction, and former slave Henry Box Brown's 'Grand Panorama of American Slavery', a show with several graphic scenes emphasising the reality of life for a slave.[23]

While a wide variety of these shows are mentioned in Huhtamo's study, there is a notable lack of evidence of any educational panorama shows aimed at teaching young women the problems and dangers that they are likely to face. It can therefore be argued that Mansfield uses this visual effect in her narrative to draw attention to the dangers of sheltering women and failing to educate them on subjects that are considered taboo. In 'His Sister's Keeper', the fact that the Fellow Passenger is able to only partially piece together her situation from stories 'overheard from the servants' is significant, stressing the extent to which upper-class women are sheltered from the world, and offered little freedom but with no clear explanation why. The mention of the 'half read' newspaper reports implies that the girl has also been forbidden to take her education into her own hands, only being afforded stolen glimpses of the more shocking stories. This protection of women's innocence and purity, however, leads to vulnerability: in this story as well as later narratives like 'The Little Governess', Mansfield exposes the dangers of teaching young women to unfailingly trust their elders, never questioning their motives. It therefore appears that the enduring topos of visual media like the panorama serves as a discursive framework for Mansfield's examination of multiple phenomena, from the time- and space-transcending experience of travel, to a means of responding to the natural world, to an added weapon in her arsenal of feminist critique.

***

II. The Panorama in Australia and New Zealand: Changing Cultural Perceptions of 'Homeland'

While it is possible to trace the popularity of the panorama as a form of visual entertainment in the United Kingdom, less is known about the impact of the medium in the British colonies. In her study *Canvas Documentaries* (2002), Mimi Colligan examines the history of the moving panorama and related visual media in Australia and New Zealand, revealing that although panoramas were not exhibited in these countries until the mid-nineteenth century, their popularity was incomparable to any other form of visual entertainment until the screening of the first Australian feature films in 1906. While the age of the panorama in Australia and New Zealand was comparatively brief, it would be impossible to argue against the cultural impact of such a phenomenon. As mentioned above, it is highly likely that Mansfield and her family would have attended panorama shows, as she was born in

1888, and would have grown up during the last decades of the medium's popularity, a time during which the panorama had reached its most creative and experimental peak.

Prior to the introduction of the panorama to Australia and New Zealand, the two countries had become a common subject in panorama shows in the United Kingdom. The first known example of such a show, entitled 'A View of the Town of Sydney', was displayed in the Leicester Square Panorama in London in 1828, and the Australian gold rush of the 1850s led to a surge in these depictions of antipodean life, with shows emerging with titles like 'The Life of an Emigrant' and 'The Gold Fields of Australia'. Colligan points out that these shows were not only intended as forms of virtual tourism, but also as a means to inform and encourage those who were considering emigration, which, following the gold rushes in particular, was considered an increasingly desirable and lucrative way to make one's fortune.[24] Accordingly, panoramas on this topic were often accompanied by a lecture aimed at would-be emigrants: an example of this appeared in a show entitled 'Panorama of New Zealand' (1850), produced by Samuel Charles Brees of the New Zealand Company. A review of this show in the *Illustrated London News* praised the panorama for being 'remarkably well painted […] with incidents of native and colonial life vigorously executed […] The information afforded by the picture, as well as Mr. Bree's explanatory lecture, will be as important to any intending emigrant as it is to the sightseer.'[25] The review sheds light on contemporary attitudes to the medium, emphasising that panorama shows were expected to demonstrate both entertaining and informative qualities. Colligan suggests that the rise in popularity of the panorama was due to a desire for 'rational amusement' in the early nineteenth century. A change in leisure activities began to occur during this time which was brought about by a series of social shifts: seasonal festivals became less important as the rural population began to migrate to industrial centres, while many annual street events which had previously taken place in urban areas, like London's Bartholomew Fair, had their licenses revoked due to their propensity to provide cause for 'unruly behaviour'.[26] Due to these issues, alongside technological advances which allowed for new forms of visual entertainment requiring electrical lighting, popular entertainment began to move indoors, and the panorama was praised as a morally-sound alternative to the entertainments of the 'beer halls and gin palaces'.[27] While initially aimed at fashionable, upper-class audiences, the panorama began to become more accessible around the 1850s, as proprietors saw the opportunity to seek new audiences and thus lowered their prices accordingly. The introduction of the panorama to Australia and New Zealand also took place around this time, further emphasising the desire for new audiences, as the gold-rich reputation of these countries offered enterprising showmen the opportunity to seek audiences with far higher disposable incomes. Returning to the *Illustrated London News* review, the ambiguous description of the panorama viewer as a 'sightseer' is also

significant, emphasising that even at this early stage, the transportational qualities of the medium had been recognised. Similarly, the perceived importance of such a show as a resource for potential emigrants attests to the growing importance of the visual during this era: it appears that the general public were becoming increasingly reliant on images rather than words as a source of information.

While Australia and New Zealand were initially only part of the panorama craze as pictorial subjects, the panorama itself came to these countries in the mid-1840s. In comparison to the UK and Europe, Australia and New Zealand's experiences of the panorama took place in reverse, as they were introduced to moving panoramas long before static, circular panoramas made an appearance, due to the easier transportability of the former. Unfortunately, most of Australia and New Zealand's moving panorama shows have been poorly documented, particularly in the early years of the medium, although through an examination of various newspapers and memoirs of the time, Colligan claims that 'references can be found to at least 200 seasons of moving panoramas/dioramas in the two countries from the 1840s to 1901'.[28] Colligan divides the subject matter of the moving panorama shows displayed in the colonies into three primary themes: scenes of Australia and New Zealand's famous landmarks, both urban and rural; scenes of England and the Continent; and scenes of historical and contemporary battles. While Australia and New Zealand appeared in British panorama performances, this was primarily in the context of educating would-be emigrants, with other countries being far more popular as locations for 'virtual tourists' to visit. It therefore seems interesting that views of England and the Continent are recorded as being one of the three most popular subjects for these antipodean panoramas. A review of one of these shows in the *Argus* newspaper sheds light on the colonial attitude to the 'homeland', praising a show entitled 'The Moving Panorama of London from Old Thames' (1850) for its ability to take the viewer into 'the very centre of civilisation […] without the trouble of going sixteen thousand miles to get there'.[29] Again, the transportational qualities of the medium have been realised, as the reviewer praises the panorama's ability to virtually transcend distance through the power of the moving image. In addition, however, the article also draws attention to the conception of home in Australia and New Zealand: for the colonist, civilisation and culture is not here, but there. In the advertisement for the show in another local newspaper, a nostalgic appreciation of homeland is invoked in a passage describing the view from the Thames that the panorama presents:

> This busy River is rich in picturesque beauty: crowded with ships, steamers, barges, wherries, gondolas, and the glittering processions of the princely corporations, it presents an ever varying kalaidescope [sic] effect to the artist's eye. The buildings upon its banks are historical, and recall to the mind a long train of associated personages, famous for their greatness or misfortunes. This picture of London will

> embrace the whole line of river, from the stately PALACE OF WESTMINSTER, as befitted by its elegance and extent for the assembled representatives of a great people, down to those repositories of the riches of all climes – the DOCKS. It is unnecessary to say a word of the great interest such a representation must have to British colonists and their descendants.[30]

This hyperbolic description of the capital emphasises the impact of British heritage on the colonial imagination: there seems to be an assumption that all British colonists will be fascinated by these scenes, and the transference of this on to their descendants as a form of learned nostalgia seems particularly bizarre, as the next generation are taught to consider the UK as their 'home' despite the fact that the majority of them have never been there. The descriptions of the sights the panorama will display are particularly visual and emotive, with the comparison of the scene to 'an ever varying kalaidescope' in particular recreating another form of mediated visual entertainment in words. The painterly qualities of the scene are also emphasised, as it is described in terms of an 'artist's eye' as a view 'rich in picturesque beauty'. The reference to the picturesque is particularly incongruous to the industrial, urban setting, especially given London's reputation as an antithesis to Romantic ideals of simple, pre-industrial lifestyles in the works of poets like Wordsworth and Blake. It appears, therefore, that the colonists' mediated vision of the motherland is somewhat unrealistic, drawing on a series of clichés rather than lived experience.

It is also possible to examine the impact of the moving panorama on contemporary thought processes through the advertisement's description of London's buildings invoking 'a long train of associated personages'. While these historical figures do not appear in this particular show, a virtual panorama is created by this description, as mental images are presented in terms of a scrolling, sequential procession. Mansfield often records her own or her characters' thoughts in a similar form, perhaps most strikingly so in 'Pictures': the protagonist Miss Moss's hunger is visualised as she watches 'a pageant of Good Hot Dinners pass[ing] across the ceiling', as explored in the previous chapter.[31] Another interesting feature of the advertisement is the fact that it attributes equal importance to the Palace of Westminster and the docks, although this could be another reason behind Britain's high esteem in the eyes of the colonists, namely its imperial strength. The description of the docks as 'repositories of the riches of all climes', while presented as positive, suggests the violence and acquisitiveness that have built this regal capital.

The colonial fixation on British culture is a constant presence in Mansfield's fiction, and the tension between these two very different concepts of 'home' affected both her writing style and personal

life. In her biography of Mansfield, Claire Tomalin suggests that British colonists in New Zealand were even more separate from their ancestral home:

> In the nineteenth century, New Zealand was for many a colony of Australia as much as Australia was a colony of England; it was the very last place, the furthest you could go, the end of the line. Perhaps for that very reason the people ("the most provincial on Earth", according to Beatrice Webb in the 1890s) yearned towards "Home" 12,000 miles away all the more, trying to overlay the alien landscapes, plants, beasts and seasons with whatever could lend an illusion of what many had never seen.[32]

A similarly hyperbolic depiction of upper-class British life to that suggested by the panorama advertisement appears in Mansfield's stories that feature the Sheridans, a family of wealthy colonists who are determined to uphold English values despite the incongruity of their setting: they play croquet and tennis, dress in imported European fashions, and serve traditional British fare at their garden party in spite of the tropical temperatures.[33] The pervasiveness of these cultural signifiers across Mansfield's society is particularly evident in 'The Garden Party', in which imported English roses have been selected for decoration, not for their beauty but because they are 'the only flowers that impress people at garden parties; the only flowers that everybody is certain of knowing'.[34] Mansfield frequently uses nature in this context as a means of illustrating the duality at the heart of her society: in 'Prelude', the garden is spilt into two warring halves, with the hardy native plants threatening to overwhelm the beautiful yet fragile imported species, while the earlier story 'In the Botanical Gardens' (1907) follows a protagonist as she moves from the 'smooth swept paths' of the gardens, lined with cowslips, daffodils and rhododendrons, to the untamed expanse of the bushland.[35] Just as the historical buildings in the panorama of the Thames invoked images of English historical figures, the protagonist's gaze on to this wild landscape seems to conjure up a group of Maori people, described as 'a great company moving towards me, their faces averted, wreathed with green garlands, passing, passing, following the little stream in silence until it is sucked into the wild sea…'[36] In contrast to this vivid image, the Sheridan family-esque visitors to the botanical gardens are described as being 'as meaningless, as lacking in individuality, as little figures in an impressionist landscape'.[37] These comparisons provide another example of Mansfield's engagement with the visual arts in her fiction. The procession of Maoris 'passing' before the protagonist shares affinities with the panorama: 'passing', repeated twice, is a term suggestive of sequential movement, and images of 'the lives of the natives' were a popular subject in both British and antipodean panorama performances. The colonists, meanwhile, are presented in terms of an Impressionist painting, suggesting that while they appear beautiful, they lack depth and substance,

and are as out of place as their imported country garden flowers in this ancient landscape. However, in spite of Mansfield's negative portrayal of colonialism in this story, the social privilege of the colonists – and Mansfield's complicity in this - is still confirmed by the differing visual portrayals of the two groups. The pakeha appear as the protagonists of sophisticated artworks, while the Maoris are associated with a cheaply-produced fairground attraction. In spite of Mansfield's attempted positive portrayal, the native people of her country still appear as a tourist attraction or curiosity rather than as people. The story ends with an image of the garden's visitors laughing and admiring the flowers, 'spelling aloud the Latin names', juxtaposed against an image of 'vague forms lurking in the shadow staring at me malevolently, wildly',[38] suggesting that although Mansfield makes critical comments about the colonists, their humanity ultimately remains unchallenged: they are given a voice and a place in modern society while the Maoris pass by 'in silence', becoming engulfed by the natural world.

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III. The Virtual Voyage and Ghostly Transformations

Returning to the panorama itself, another show that displayed nostalgic views of the homeland was Mrs A. Simpson's moving diorama of the overland route, which opened at the Launceton Mechanics' Institute in 1865. Following the introductory years of the new medium in the colonies, panoramas had become increasingly elaborate, and incorporating dioramic lighting into the moving panorama was a popular special effect, used as a means of highlighting specific parts of a scene or to create a simulacrum of various weather conditions or the transition from day to night, as illustrated above. Mrs Simpson's show is the only Australian moving panorama that was recorded as being painted by a woman, and Colligan draws attention to this, as well as to the uniqueness of the artist's subject matter. Colligan writes, 'Mrs Simpson, however, displayed a local Australian sensibility in reversing the usual order of the show. Most had hitherto depicted a voyage to Australia; Mrs Simpson's was a journey from Australia to England, with the first scene showing the departure from Sydney and the last showing the arrival at Southampton. As well as painting and presenting the diorama, Mrs Simpson appeared in "rich appropriate dresses", singing various songs in character'.[39] Although this show predates Mansfield by around two decades, some interesting parallels can be drawn between her and this unknown woman: both were creative artists, adventurous spirits, and multitalented performers – Mrs Simpson's apparent ability to switch between a variety of characters has particular parallels with Mansfield's love of impersonations and assuming multiple personas. Mrs Simpson's unusual reversal of the emigrant's voyage can perhaps be read as an indication of her desire to leave Australia for the vibrancy of European culture, much as Mansfield longed to return to England,

referring to her time spent in Wellington as a young adult as 'the waste of life'. It is possible to argue that the colonial fascination with British life had different implications for émigrée women: for unconventional, creative women like Mansfield and Mrs Simpson, Europe represented a more progressive place in which their talents could potentially be recognised in spite of the restriction of their sex. In Mansfield's journal entries from 1908, her desire to return to England becomes a fixation, although her father had withdrawn his nominal permission for his daughter to leave the family home upon discovery of a written account of one of her scandalous liaisons. Over the course of the year, Mansfield sinks into depression, with thoughts of London seeming to be her only escape: in one of the sporadic entries she imagines 'floating down Regent Street in a hansom'[40] with her lover Carlotta, while later in the year she plans to write 'a life much in the style of Walter Pater's *Child in the House'*, featuring Wellington as a 'barren' place with 'climatic effects – wind, rain, spring, night – the sea, the cloud pageantry', in contrast to London, where her autobiographical protagonist will 'live there an existence so full and strange that life itself seemed to greet her'.[41] Mansfield's famous discussion on women's 'self-fashioned chains of slavery' also appears as a diary entry during this year, and her assertion that all she requires is 'power, wealth and freedom'[42] can also be connected to her desire to leave New Zealand: it is evident that she believes that none of these states are attainable for a woman in her society.

Mansfield's description of Wellington's diverse 'climatic effects' again aligns her writing with popular forms of visual entertainment, as explorations of extreme weather conditions and the changing seasons were popular visual effects in both panorama and diorama shows. From the mid-1860s, imported panoramas began to become the norm in Australia and New Zealand, as European and American showmen sought new audiences with a reputation for riches. One particularly notable imported panorama was the so-called 'Pan-Techna-Theca', its name seeming to be almost a parody of the selection of Greek prefixes used by showmen to lend their attractions a sense of academic gravitas. In spite of its somewhat bizarre title, however, the Pan-Techna-Theca proved to be extremely popular, being displayed for several years in venues across Australia and New Zealand, including the Theatre Royal in Wellington, Mansfield's home town. The show was presented in three parts, with a uniquely sequential narrative: audiences were shown views of famous American sights, from Niagara Falls to the Golden Gate Bridge, followed by a voyage across the Atlantic from New York to Liverpool, which concluded with another virtual tour, this time of British cities and landmarks. In spite of the popularity of the panorama as a form of virtual tourism, however, the most lauded aspect of this show was its recreation of the ocean voyage. The *Wellington Evening Post* had particular praise for this section, stating 'the journey across the Atlantic is remarkably well

depicted'[43], and a description of the Pan-Techna-Theca in the memoirs of Sir Joseph Verco also identifies the voyage as the show's most striking scene. Verco describes the panorama as

> A great painting which moved across a platform at the end of the building, sometimes in the light and at times in semidarkness, giving an idea of the experiences at sea of a voyage from America to England […] The 'piece de resistance' was the storm at sea shown in semidarkness. The roaring thunder was produced by twisting sheets of iron, the pelting rain by falling shot, the lightning flashes by squibs across the picture with a most alarming effect.[44]

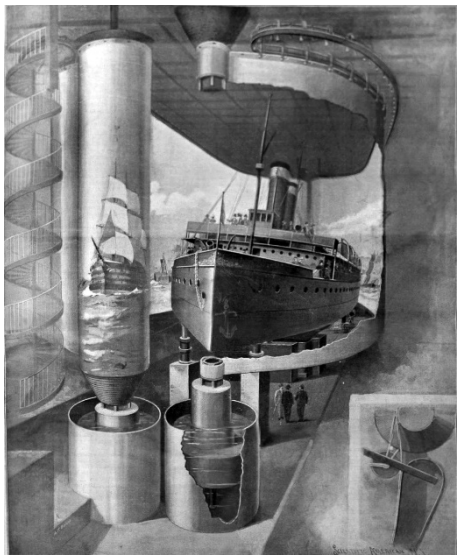

Fig. 47: *Illustration of the Maréorama at the 1900 Paris Exposition*

The popularity of vivid and immersive multisensory experiences is apparent here, as lighting and sound effects are included in the show as a means of adding to the realism of the scene. This virtual voyage was to be expanded upon further still in the form of the Maréorama, which debuted at the 1900 Exposition Universelle in Paris and featured 'two enormous moving panoramas, each 750 metres long and 13 metres high', which were 'rolled by motors in both sides of a simulated steamer's deck' (fig. 47).[45] This double panorama allowed a sensation of complete immersion to be created, which was also augmented by lighting and sound effects to simulate changing weather conditions, as well as the use of a system of hydraulics to make the 'deck' pitch and roll, in a similar manner to fairground attractions like Hale's Tours that offered virtual journeys by train. As Huhtamo argues, although these ingenious, multisensory attractions were relatively short-lived compared to subsequent forms of entertainment like the cinema, their effect on the imagination outlasted the attractions themselves, with the panorama living on as a discursive topos. The multisensory effects in Mansfield's fiction could therefore be viewed as a response, conscious or otherwise, to this

experimental spirit of the age, as in stories like 'Miss Brill', colour, light and sound are all essential in allowing the reader to subjectively experience a character's life and emotions.

As the Maréorama reveals, the novelty of the visual experience of travel was frequently used as a form of entertainment for Victorian audiences. The associations between travelling and the panorama were two-way, however, as contemporary accounts of the railway journey reveal. In 1865, journalist Jules Clarétie recorded his experiences of travelling by train, noting that 'in a few hours, it shows you all of France, and before your eyes it unrolls its infinite panorama, a vast succession of charming tableaux, of novel surprises'.[46] Clarétie's interpretations of rail travel as a form of panorama mirrors Mansfield's similar comparisons between these two visual sensations, as I argue in chapter three. These accounts also suggest that new high speed forms of transport were fascinating not only for their ability to open up access to new places, but also due to the new perceptive experience that they offered. Schivelbusch argues that rail travel resulted in new forms of perception: pre-industrial concepts of depth perception were lost when viewing a landscape from the window of a moving train due to the blurring of foreground objects. According to Schivelbusch, we associate ourselves with the foreground, meaning that without a clear impression of this we experience a sense of disconnection from the landscapes we perceive. The panorama is invoked once more as Schivelbusch writes 'panoramic perception, in contrast to traditional perception, no longer belonged to the same space as the perceived objects: the traveller saw the objects, landscapes, etc. *through* the apparatus which moved him through the world. That machine and the motion it created became integrated into his visual perception: thus he could only see things in motion'.[47]

In Mansfield's fiction, she similarly examines the perceptual experience of travel, and the way in which the journey creates a liminal space in which travellers are presented with two simultaneous visual planes. Journeys by rail are a popular motif in her fiction, as discussed previously, but she is perhaps equally fascinated by ships and ocean voyages, possibly due to the fact that this form of travel represented an escape from her restrictive colonial lifestyle. The voyage is presented in her fiction as both positive and negative, emphasising the ambiguous status of travel: in 'The Wind Blows' (1920), the ship that offers an escape for the protagonist is 'beautiful and mysterious',[48] more powerful than the wind that acts as a controlling force throughout the narrative, while in 'The Little Governess', this mysterious ship becomes sinister, transporting the governess into the unknown with 'masts and spars […] black against a green glittering sky'.[49] However, perhaps the most disconcerting depiction of ocean travel appears in 'It was neither light nor dark in the cabin' (1919). The uncertain lighting described by the opening sentence of this story again suggests the liminal qualities of the journey, creating an image of the in-between stage of dusk or dawn and recalling the

dioramic transitions of the Pan-Techna-Theca and the Maréorama. This lighting effect also visually foreshadows the protagonist's uncertain mental state, as well as hinting at the supernatural appearances later in the narrative. The description of the interior of the cabin uses similarly emotive visual effects:

> The ring of the porthole shone very bright and cold like the eye of some huge dead bird. In that eye you saw an immense stretch of grey waving water, a vague sky above, and between, a few huge live birds flying so aimless and uncertain they didn't look like birds at all, but like bits of wave, torn off, or just shadows… Shadows, too, birds of shadow, flew across the cabin ceiling - across its whiteness, iron girders, splashes of rust, big nails coated with paint, paint blisters. A tiny day seemed to be breaking all on its own in the mirror above the washstand and another tide rose and fell in the thick bottle.[50]

The influence of various visual technologies can be identified in this scene: the porthole is described as an 'eye', suggesting camera-like recording, and the scene revealed through this small aperture offers a similar moving view of the ocean to those illustrated in the panorama, with a paradoxically 'immense stretch of grey waving water'. The scene is also mediated in other screen-like surfaces, as the movements of the sea and sky are eerily repeated in the mirror and a glass bottle, casting doubt on which scene is truly real and creating an impression of enclosure and claustrophobia. Technologies like the camera obscura are also possibly alluded to here, as large-scale, exterior views are recreated in miniature in a domestic space. The inclusion of the abstract birds enhances the protagonist's sensation of disconnection from reality, again drawing on visual transformations as they become 'bits of wave' and 'shadows'. The shadow birds within the cabin, meanwhile, are reminiscent of the shadowy projections of the dioramas and magic lantern shows, in particular ghost shows like the phantasmagoria. Mansfield's earlier series of 'Vignettes' are recalled, in which she used animated projections on the walls as a means of illustrating her characters' emotions. In this case, the ghostly birds' aimless flight and fragmentation as they pass over the uneven surfaces of the cabin walls reflects the protagonist's sense of loss and uncertainty, as like the birds she too feels set adrift.

The protagonist's troubled mental state is also visually represented as she experiences the sensation that her body is fragmenting, breaking down in to disconnected parts:

> She shut her eyes again – a great loud pulse beat in her body or was it in the ship? In the ship. She had no body – she just had hands feet and a head, nothing else at all. Of course they were joined together by something, but not more than

> the stars in the Southern Cross were joined together. How otherwise could she feel so light – so light.[51]

Fig. 48: *Machine-Gunneress in a State of Grace*

Fragmented or ephemeral female bodies appear throughout Mansfield's fiction, as she presents her female characters' disconnection from the world around them as a visceral, physical response. The disintegration of the body is used variously as a visual metaphor for women's subjugation, such as in 'Prelude' when Linda is fascinated by the contrast between her husband Stanley's 'firm, obedient' body and her own. Her comment that his 'amazing vigour seemed to set him worlds apart' from herself, watching him 'as if from the clouds' suggests her envy, as her body seems alien to her, an ephemeral entity over which she can never gain control.[52] Bodily fragmentation also appears as a means of commodifying the female body, as in 'The Little Governess': the governess is deconstructed by the men she encounters, her body broken down into a variety of sexualised components. This fragmentation of the female form appeared in many surrealist artworks, such as Hans Bellmer's sculptures which provided an uncanny doubling of the human figure combined with machinery, as a means of criticising the hypersexualisation of both women's bodies and machine warfare (fig. 48).[53] Mansfield's protagonist in 'It was neither light nor dark in the cabin' can be read in similar terms: it is possible to interpret the 'loss' she has experienced as a loss of virtue or virginity, meaning that society now considers her to be no longer whole.

In 'It was neither dark nor light in the cabin', the protagonist's troubled thoughts are also illustrated through the appearance of the other character in the narrative. In a typically modern style, this

character is first introduced as only a voice, berating the protagonist for losing an unnamed precious possession and mocking her for being so foolish and careless. The speaker's lack of sympathy becomes increasingly cruel, as she bombards the protagonist with a series of idioms and unhelpful advice, and belittles her with patronising names like 'pet' and 'girlie'.[54] At the conclusion of her speech, the speaker's appearance is revealed: 'the odious little creature who had been sitting on the edge of the lower berth drew on a pair of dirty white kid gloves, tucked her tail under her arm, gave a loud cackle and vanished'.[55] The ambiguous qualities of the narrative, as suggested earlier by the strange lighting and restless shadows, are again brought to the fore by this mysterious being. While the reader is initially led to believe that the speaker is the protagonist's companion, her sinister, inhuman looks and sudden magical disappearance reveals that she is a supernatural presence, or an imagined embodiment of the protagonist's regret and self-loathing.

The manifestation of this apparition as a moralising, chastising force seems particularly Dickensian, recalling the ghostly visitors in *A Christmas Carol* (1843) or the appearance of the Goblin King in 'Gabriel Grub', a story from *The Pickwick Papers* (1837) which featured supernatural transformations and a cave in which images are projected, as mentioned in the previous chapter. Joss Marsh suggests that Dickens' fiction and Victorian visual media had a somewhat symbiotic relationship. Dickens was explicitly influenced by technologies like the magic lantern in his writing: the superimpositions of the spirits in *A Christmas Carol* draw on the visual effects of the phantasmagoria, Miss Havisham's 'ghostly reflection' in *Great Expectations* (1861) is 'thrown large by the fire upon the ceiling and the wall',[56] and in his journals, Dickens discusses the 'optical discoveries' that have turned the modern mind into 'a wizard chamber of dissolving views'.[57] In turn, many of Dickens' stories were adapted into lantern narratives, with his writing being particularly popular among lanternists due to its visual style and serial structure, which made it easy to present shows as a series of snapshot images. As well as the magic lantern, however, there is evidence to suggest that a similar system of mutual borrowing existed between Dickens' works and the panorama. Huhtamo points out that Dickens was close friends with famous panorama showman Clarkson Stanfield, and as such he would have been familiar with the medium.[58] Much like the magic lantern, Huhtamo also draws attention to the panorama's appearance as a discursive device in Dickens' fiction, such as *The Old Curiosity Shop* (1841), in which the speed at which the story unfolds is compared to the varying speed at which a moving panorama is presented: 'the magic reel, which, rolling on before, has led the chronicler thus far, now slackens in its pace, and stops. It lies before the goal, the pursuit is at an end'.[59] The visual impact of these forms of entertainment on the Victorian imagination is apparent, as reading and storytelling are again presented in terms of spectatorship. Dickens' fiction also lent itself to panoramic adaptations, and a panorama entitled the

'Charles Dickens Grand Moving Panorama' was painted and displayed exclusively in New Zealand, featuring illustrations from the novels with an accompanying reader and lecturer.[60] Marsh writes that 'the dissolving-view lantern show became a Victorian metaphor for transformation, truth telling and spiritual regeneration',[61] although it would appear that this statement could apply equally to the panorama with its series of visual transformations. Reading stories like Mansfield's 'It was neither light nor dark in the cabin' stresses that the cultural impact of these media on literary forms was still very much in evidence even decades later.

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IV. 'One *IS* the spectacle for a time': The Cyclorama and Visual Transportation

While the moving panoramas were popular in Australia and New Zealand for several decades, they met with a rival form of entertainment towards the end of the nineteenth century as the circular panoramas were introduced to the colonies. While the circular panorama was a far older form of entertainment than its moving counterpart, having been first introduced to British audiences with Robert Barker's panorama of London in 1793, it had never before been displayed in Australia or New Zealand due to difficulties in transportation. Its sudden appearance in the late 1800s reflected its resurgence of popularity in Europe and the USA. These new circular panoramas were known as cycloramas, in an attempt to distance them from the moving panorama and thus emphasise the cyclorama's higher quality of artwork. In addition to this updated name, the cyclorama also differed from the panoramas created by Barker and his contemporaries in their use of various special effects: much like the moving panorama, sound and lighting were used to engage the senses, and three-dimensional elements known as 'faux terrain' were added to the foreground of the scene in order to create an illusion of depth. Colligan points out that faux terrain structures, such as plaster landscaping, plywood shrubbery and wax mannequins, were 'carefully integrated with the picture so that the viewer often had difficulty in deciding where the painting began and the added effects ended'.[62] Contemporary reviews of the cyclorama also reveal the apparent realism of these structures: in a review of a cyclorama of the Battle of Waterloo, one journalist writes 'the visitor goes along an underground passage and up a winding stair. Then as the scene breaks upon the eye, the idea that one is in a building at all is startled out of him. He is in Belgium, on a little knoll in a valley lying between the positions occupied by Napoleon and Wellington'.[63] In a different newspaper, the uncanny qualities of this battle scene are also attested to: 'the great fascinating attraction of the whole thing lies in the horror of the show, and one watched the pictured rush of cavalry against the obstinate squares with a feeling of interest that it would have seemed impossible for a painted scene to arouse'.[64] What is interesting about both of these reviews is that they seem to

view the cyclorama as more than merely an image, with the former drawing attention to the transformative and transportational effects of the scene, and the latter praising its immersiveness and illusory qualities of motion. Anne Friedberg's comments on the appeal of the cinema can be applied here, as she points out that 'the moving-image spectator has a bodily presence in material architectural space, yet engages with virtually rendered immaterial space framed on the screen'.[65] Just like the cinema screen, the cyclorama's viewing platform acts as the liminal space between the immobility of a viewer and the perceived mobility of the images before him or her. In the years immediately preceding the birth of the cinema, it seems that there was a strong appetite for visual entertainment that could virtually transport the viewer into another time and place, with the accuracy of the painted images and faux terrain depth of the cyclorama anticipating later cinematic gimmicks such as HD cameras and 3D special effects.

In her fiction, Mansfield attempts to provide her readers with a similar form of visual immersiveness. Her description of her writing process has parallels to the initial reactions to the cyclorama above, as she discusses how she sees and experiences the world through the 'eyes' of the people and objects that she writes about:

> Ive *been* this man *been* this woman. Ive stood for hours on the Auckland wharf. Ive been out in the stream waiting to be berthed. Ive been a seagull hovering at the stern and a hotel porter whistling through his teeth. It isn't as though one sits and watches the spectacle. That would be thrilling enough, god knows. But one IS the spectacle for a time.[66]

The idea of the written word as a discursive spectacle is again explored, suggesting the impact of forms of visual media on the cultural topos of the time. Mansfield's comment that she 'IS the spectacle' also indicates the desire for immersiveness in an imagined space: as with the cyclorama of the Battle of Waterloo, she believes that the visual richness of her work allows for virtual transportation. Interestingly, this letter was written the year before Mansfield's publication of 'Miss Brill', in which the notion of a multisensory experience resulting in imaginative absorption into a scene is further explored. However, transportation into a series of different spectacles is also examined in earlier stories, such as 'The Man Without a Temperament' (1920). Written in the same year that Mansfield composed the above letter, this story features a series of immersive flashbacks as Robert, the long-suffering and emotionally stunted 'man without a temperament' of the title, experiences the sensation that he has physically returned to a different time and place. Each of these moments of transportation are prompted by a sensory trigger: a letter read aloud by his wife, the scent of a struck match, the sound of a clock chiming. However, perhaps the most intensely

visual flashback occurs when Robert sits on the hilltop gazing down on the fields, and remembers a similar walk he took at home in England. Although he is physically present in the scene before him, he does not seem to belong: the 'deep, golden sunlight' which 'lay in the cup of the valley', as well as the man cutting grapes, 'taking hundreds of years over the job', all serve to create a sense of lethargy, emphasising Robert's fear of stagnation far from what he perceives to be civilisation.[67] By contrast, his sudden flashback to similar fields in England seems far more vivid and richly sensory, as he remembers the sharp smell of swedes, the feeling of rain, the bright colour of blackberries. Even his movements seem more vigorous: in contrast to the earlier drawn-out descriptions, Mansfield divides each sentence into a series of brief, dynamic clauses, as Robert moves 'over the gate, across a field, over the stile, into the lane, swinging along in the drifting rain and dusk'.[68] Robert's feeling of alienation is also suggested by the contrast between these two settings, as in Italy he is a stranger, either ignored or referred to disdainfully as 'the Englishman',[69] while in his memory of home he recalls being greeted by men he passes in the street, and his friend assuring some party guests that 'we all know Robert'.[70] It is the use of these immersive analepses and subjective visual effects that allow the narrative of 'The Man Without a Temperament' to operate on two levels, providing the witty character studies and social commentary that is so characteristic of Mansfield's work.

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In conclusion, although there is little written evidence of Mansfield's childhood, it seems impossible that she could have lived in late nineteenth-century New Zealand without being aware of the cultural phenomenon of the panorama. Although this innovative medium has largely been lost to history, its significance both as a form of entertainment and a discursive topos cannot be understated, being one of the many pre-cinematic visual technologies that was instrumental in shaping how people thought, experienced and wrote about ways of seeing. This shift in perception begins to become evident in the fiction of Victorian authors like Dickens, as well as providing a framework for the increasingly experimental discourse of modernism. Mansfield's travel narratives align with both the structure and the subject matter of the moving panorama, presenting a variety of small, fragmented narratives in which characters travel imaginatively as much as physically. Mansfield's interest in the relationship between New Zealand and the United Kingdom also parallels the panorama show, with panoramas being used both as an educational resource for the potential emigrant, and a mode of capitalising on colonial nostalgia for 'homeland'.

In Mansfield's writing, the panorama frequently appears as a discursive device, both explicitly and in a more subtle form as she presents series of sequential images, explores supernatural transformations and allows her characters to imaginatively move through time and space. It was

perhaps this freedom of movement that attracted Mansfield to the panorama: as Huhtamo writes, 'the panorama may have been introduced as a new art form, but it was conceived to create a market for mediated realities and (seemingly) emancipated gazes'.[71] This idea of the seemingly emancipated gaze is crucial to Mansfield's writing, as she explores the discrepancy between seeing and being, the freedom of imagination and the restrictiveness of reality.

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[1] Huhtamo, p.3.
[2] Ibid., pp.6-7.
[3] Ibid., p.10.
[4] Ibid., p.10
[5] Ibid., p.11.
[6] Huhtamo, p.15.
[7] Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, trans. Harry Zohn (London: NLB, 1973), p.35.
[8] Huhtamo, p.15.
[9] Ibid., p.332.
[10] Ibid., p.291.
[11] *Punch*, vol. 18, 1850, p.163, qted. In Huhtamo, p.191.
[12] Mansfield, 'A Dill Pickle', in *Collected Fiction*, Vol. II, pp.97-103, (p.101).
[13] Mansfield, 'A Married Man's Story', p.380.
[14] Mansfield, 'At the Bay', p.354.
[15] Mansfield, *Journal*, p.23.
[16] Ibid., p.27.
[17] Ibid., p.33.
[18] Mansfield, 'His Sister's Keeper', p.150.
[19] Ibid., p.150.
[20] Ibid., p.156.
[21] Ibid., p.156.
[22] Ibid., pp.155-156.
[23] Huhtamo, p.184-185.
[24] Mimi Colligan, *Canvas Documentaries: Panoramic Entertainments in Nineteenth-Century Australia and New Zealand* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2002), p.33.
[25] *Illustrated London News*, 30 March 1850, pp.220-21.
[26] Colligan, p.5.
[27] Ibid., p.6.
[28] Ibid., p.42.
[29] *Argus*, 11 December 1850.
[30] Advertisement reproduced from the *Launceston Examiner*, 19 September 1849.
[31] Mansfield, 'Pictures', p.178.
[32] Tomalin, p.8.
[33] Mansfield, 'By Moonlight' and 'The Garden Party', in *Collected Fiction*, Vol. II, p.399, p.410.
[34] Mansfield, 'The Garden Party', p.401.
[35] Mansfield, 'In the Botanical Gardens', p.85.
[36] Ibid., p.85.
[37] Ibid., p.84.
[38] Ibid., p.85.
[39] Colligan, p.71.
[40] Mansfield, *Journal*, p.35.

[41] Ibid., pp.37-38.
[42] Ibid., p.37.
[43] *Wellington Evening Post*, 20 October 1865.
[44] Sir Joseph Verco, 'MS Memoir', reproduced in *Newsreel,* ed. Keast Burke, 1892, Appendix I, p.12.
[45] Huhtamo, p.314.
[46] Jules Clarétie, *Voyages d'un Parisien* (Paris, 1865), p.4.
[47] Schivelbusch, p.64.
[48] Mansfield, 'The Wind Blows', in *Collected Fiction*, Vol. II, pp.226-29, (p.229).
[49] Mansfield, 'The Little Governess', p.423.
[50] Mansfield, 'It was neither light nor dark in the cabin', in *Collected Fiction*, Vol. II, pp.173-75, (p.173).
[51] Ibid., p.174.
[52] Mansfield, 'Prelude', pp.66-67.
[53] Caws, p.158.
[54] Mansfield, 'It was neither light nor dark in the cabin', p.174.
[55] Ibid., p.174.
[56] Charles Dickens, *Great Expectations* (London: Penguin, 2012), p.321.
[57] Marsh, p.24.
[58] Huhtamo, p.332.
[59] Dickens, 'The Old Curiosity Shop', in *Sketches – Part 1*, vol. 2 (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1874), p.198.
[60] Colligan, p.77.
[61] Marsh, p.23.
[62] Colligan, p.159.
[63] *Age*, 18 May 1889.
[64] *Melbourne Punch*, 23 May 1889.
[65] Friedberg, *The Virtual Window,* p.6.
[66] Mansfield, *Collected Letters*, Vol. IV, p.97.
[67] Mansfield, 'The Man Without a Temperament', in *Collected Fiction*, Vol. II, pp.199-210, (p. 205).
[68] Ibid., p.205.
[69] Ibid., p.203, p.204.
[70] Ibid., p.205.
[71] Huhtamo, p.5.

Chapter 6: 'Streaming by like a movie picture': Mansfield and the Cinema

While the kinetoscope, the magic lantern and other nineteenth-century visual technologies changed the ways in which people thought about vision and movement, perhaps the most influential modernist medium was the cinema. Debuting in Paris in 1895 with the Lumière brothers' one-shot *actualité* films, the cinema swiftly developed into the most popular form of public entertainment, evolving from a music hall curiosity into an experimental and innovative new medium. According to many modernist writers, cinema was the most significant cultural event of the early twentieth century: Vachel Lindsay described modernity as a culture of images, commenting that the world around him was becoming 'more hieroglyphic every day',[1] while Gertrude Stein asserted that 'I cannot repeat this too often any one is of one's period and this our period was undoubtedly the period of the cinema'.[2] On the other hand, others condemned the new medium or dismissed it as a gimmick, such as Ezra Pound, who believed that art was characterised by its stasis, and thus to create art is to create a work that will 'stand a long and lively inspection'. Pound referred to cinema as an 'assault' on 'every one of the senses' which denied viewers the time for contemplation that art should provide, bombarding them with images too rapidly to allow any meaningful conclusion to be drawn.[3] Laura Marcus, however, interprets these rapidly changing images as a vital element of the zeitgeist of modernity, suggesting that film motion's effect on training the eye and brain to be attentive is 'essential for the successful management of modern life, with its unprecedented speed and motion'.[4]

As well as helping to attune the human eye to the fast pace of modern life, the cinema also exerted considerable influence over other art forms. According to Leslie Kathleen Hankins, cinema offers 'another way to consider the upheavals of Dada and surrealist performance art, the energy of cubism and other visual art movements, the celebration of the machine […] the call to "make it new," and Imagism's concentration on the visual close up'.[5] In addition to providing a new lens of interpretation for visual art, poetry and performance, it is possible that the popularity of the cinema was also connected to the increasing demand for short stories and short story collections, which, like an early film programme, featured montage-like examinations of time and space through a series of often disconnected narratives. Although cinematic adaptations of novels were much maligned – Woolf condemns a film adaptation of Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* as 'the scrawl of an illiterate schoolboy' in her essay on the cinema – the potential for exchange between film and fiction offered a far wider variety of possibilities than simply recreating a narrative from one medium in the other.[6] H.D.'s series of 'Projector' poems equated the cinema with Greek myth, creating psychological and technologically aware updates of classic texts; D. W. Griffith's use of montage draws on the works of visually conscious nineteenth century authors like Dickens, as Sergei Eisenstein points out; while

modern social and psychoanalytic theory also displays a cinematic tendency, from Marx's references to the camera obscura in his theory of ideology to Freud's descriptions of images being projected on to a 'dream screen' in his subjects' minds. Several stylistic and technical features of film were also adapted for use in modernist fiction, from 'cross-cutting' between different places and temporalities to close ups on symbolic objects, allowing character to be developed in subjective, visual terms. Cohen points out that the cinema was also unique in that it was the first popular art form to combine machine objectivity with human subjectivity in order to create a narrative:

> Machines are crucially relied upon in the cinematic process for a re-presentation which, rather than becoming more complete, more all-encompassing, or more efficient through automation, is full of deletions, ellipses, and partial views. Cinema can be seen as the epitome of twentieth-century relativism for the way in which it cuts up reality, endows these 'rescued fragments' with special significance, and combines them in an order at odds with their lived sequence.[7]

The idea of recording and piecing together 'rescued fragments' has clear parallels with the multifaceted style of cubism and the collages of Dadaist art, as well as sharing affinities with modernist fiction: Mansfield's writing displays a similar focus on significant objects, displaced temporalities and unfinished, inconclusive narratives.

Although there were no picture houses in New Zealand prior to Mansfield's departure in 1903, it is likely that she encountered films in vaudeville shows and travelling attractions, and almost certain that she would have been familiar with the cinema's predecessors such as the panorama and the magic lantern, as discussed above. However, during Mansfield's school years in London, 1903-06, cinemagoing became an increasingly popular activity, with over 500 cinemas existing in London alone by 1914. Sandley contends that the earliest evidence of Mansfield's relationship with the cinema appears in a letter dated from March 1912, in which Murry asks her out to 'the pictures'.[8] It is however possible to trace this engagement back even further. During Mansfield's trip into the New Zealand bush in November 1907, she writes to her mother to describe what she has seen: 'trees hung wreathed with clematis and rata and mistletoe', a creek with 'sides all smothered in daisies', a beautiful garden where 'a Maori girl with her hair in two long braids' sits shelling peas. The following day, she considers these unusual sights again, reflecting that 'looking back at yesterday I cannot believe that I have not been to a prodigious biograph show'.[9] Biograph and bioscope were terms for early film projectors, while virtual tourism, often imperialist forays into 'untouched' lands and 'native villages', was a popular subject for film narratives. It is therefore likely that by making this comparison, the young Mansfield is drawing on a series of cinemagoing experiences. Her

qualifier 'prodigious' also implies the high esteem with which she regards these visual narratives, recognising their unique transportational potentials.

Throughout Mansfield's body of work, references to the cinema frequently appear, both directly and indirectly. During a period of particularly debilitating illness, she wishes to let 'this month & February & March stream by like a movie picture'.[10] In a similar turn of phrase to Woolf's 'moments of being', she refers to symbolic objects in her fiction allowing for moments of epiphany-like realisation, through an 'interrupted moment […] like a cinema'.[11] Less explicitly, the focus on the visual in Mansfield's writing can be interpreted as cinematic, as her characters experience visually immersive moments where they appear to 'see' an imagined place or object appearing before their eyes. Her personal writing is similarly visually conscious, as she frequently asks the recipients of her letters whether they can 'see' the scene she is describing, as well as interpreting her own writing process as observational: describing her work in her journal, she notes 'sat on the divan and *saw* rather than wrote'.[12] In addition to the references to cinemagoing that appear throughout her letters and journals, Mansfield also had first-hand experience of the film industry, acting as an extra in early 1917. While her discussions of this are brief and offhand – 'tomorrow I am acting for the movies – an "exterior scene" in walking dress'; 'my last day with the "movies" – walking about in a big bare studio in what the American producer calls "slap up evening dress"' – her subsequent short story 'Pictures' reveals the influence of these acting experiences on her imagination.[13] However, as Mansfield's health began to worsen, she retired from this active engagement in film culture, instead taking on roles virtually through her writing. In a letter to her cousin Sylvia Payne, she asks 'would you not like to try *all* sorts of lives – one is so very small – but that is the satisfaction of writing – one can impersonate so many people'.[14] In her later years, her enforced isolation as she moved between various European countries resulted in a yet more cinematic engagement with the world around her, and her private writing from this time is peppered with moments from the lives of others. Often unable to engage in life due to illness, she took to experiencing other people's lives vicariously, with her window becoming a virtual cinema screen. Much like her engagement with art, Mansfield's relationship with the cinema allowed her an imaginative escape from the restrictions imposed on her both by her poor health and her lack of freedom as a modern, sexually liberated woman in a society still living in thrall to Victorian family values. For Mansfield and many other modernist women, the cinema represented a welcome escape from a world controlled by patriarchal regulations, as well as a lens through which to explore the ways in which women see and are seen in her society.

This chapter opens with an examination of women's cinemagoing habits, drawing on fiction and non-fiction writing in order to explore women's particular connection with the new medium. I

consider the cinema as an accessible space for women of all social classes, as well as being a public space into which they could venture without fear of a critical gaze. In addition to viewing films as a form of entertainment, I discuss the ways in which women engaged with cinema in an academic context, with reference to Iris Barry and the London Film Society. In section two, I turn to a comparative study between early film and women's fiction, suggesting that this artistic exchange occurred in response to women's search for a new literary voice, particularly following the social and cultural changes brought about by the Great War. Through a study of Mansfield's 'Pictures' as well as early stories like 'Leves Amores', it is possible to observe the ways in which she uses cinematic visual effects in order to allude to difficult or potentially controversial topics. The following section considers these cinematic effects in more detail, examining Mansfield's affinities with surrealist cinema with reference to 'At the Bay' and the films of Germaine Dulac. A strong cinematic influence is also apparent in 'Vignettes' (1907), which uses object animation and time lapse effects in order to indirectly explore the protagonist's troubled mental state. Section four of this chapter provides a close reading of 'The Little Governess' in terms of the cinematic qualities of the male gaze, with reference to Laura Mulvey's 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema'. The following section similarly focuses on the ways in which women are subject to an objectifying gaze, drawing on Anne Friedberg's *The Virtual Window* in order to explore the changing role of the modern window in terms of its screenic qualities. Through a discussion of 'Feuille d'Album', I propose that cinema viewing is a twentieth-century form of flânerie, as static viewers are given the opportunity to voyeuristically observe lives mediated through a screen. In the final section, I expand on this discussion, considering the cultural significance of the mirror in cinematic terms. I argue that the new medium of the cinema resulted in an increase in the fixation with women's age and physical appearances, as well as discussing the ways in which Mansfield challenges these ideologies in 'Bliss' and 'Pictures'.

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I. 'A form of entertainment which was peculiarly their own': Women's Engagement with Early Cinema

In order to better understand Mansfield's engagement with the cinema, it is necessary to examine the impact that the new medium had on women in general, as audiences, critics and creative practitioners. During the first two decades of the cinema, women were involved in all aspects of the film industry to an extent that has never been recaptured since. Hankins goes so far as to suggest that cinema's place in cultural history was largely defined by women, as women constituted a significant majority of the cinéastes, the cinematic equivalent of the Bloomsbury group in 1920s

London who contributed to creating a language with which to discuss film in academic terms. In terms of filmmaking, Ally Acker's comprehensive work *Reel Women* (1991) reveals that women in the early twentieth century had a far greater involvement in the industry than documentation would suggest, working as writers, editors, producers and directors, although these roles were often uncredited or wrongly credited to men. Perhaps the most conclusive evidence of women's engagement with early cinema can be found in Antonia Lant and Ingrid Periz's study *Red Velvet Seat* (2006), an extensive collection of women's writing on the first fifty years of cinema, which presents an undeniable case for cinema being a medium that particularly resonated with women in the Western world. While it is incorrect to present Western women as a single homogenized group, especially when taking into account their hugely diverse backgrounds and experiences, it is undeniable that women were in many ways treated differently from men, with the divide between the sexes being exceptionally pronounced in spite of the relative liberalism of the early twentieth century. Lant points out that 'women had a structurally different experience of modernity: they experienced different social duties and biological capacities; different, and usually narrower means of access to culture, knowledge, and public life; and different work patterns, not least in that the jobs accessible to men and to women were different'.[15] As a result of these imposed social positions, alongside the incontestable evidence for women's involvement in the film industry during this time, a case can be made for examining early film from a woman's perspective, and exploring the potential impact of the cinema on how women in particular saw themselves and the world around them.

In addition to their creative work that contributed or responded to the new medium, women in the early twentieth century participated in 'cinemania' simply by being passionate consumers. Although no official surveys of film audiences were established until the mid-1930s, women were consistently estimated to make up a majority of film audiences, with the most extreme accounts proclaiming this figure to be as high as 83%.[16] In a 1935 interview for *Film Weekly*, star scout Lille Messinger proclaimed that 'I believe film-testing is woman's work. Not because I am an ardent feminist, but because it is women who finance the motion picture industry. All the greatest stars, male or female, are women's ideal types, rather than men's. Nearly always, when a man goes to the cinema, it is a woman who chooses the picture he will see'.[17] This declaration is particularly interesting as it suggests that the male gaze of modern cinema was not always ubiquitous, with films initially being designed to appeal to the pleasure of their female viewers. The firmness of Messinger's belief that the cinema 'belongs' to women seems almost controversial when viewed in the context of the long patriarchal history of art and culture, with restrictions being imposed on women's involvement in, and often access to, every other artistic medium. Even in the twentieth century, just six years before

Messinger's statement, Virginia Woolf is denied access to the libraries of Oxbridge without male accompaniment, yet by contrast, literature's sister art the cinema provides not only a welcoming space for women, but also entertainment specifically catering to women's tastes and interests. This level of agency is historically unprecedented, with women controlling not only what they see, but also having the power to shape men's viewing patterns.

As well as film content being created to appeal to female viewers, cinemas themselves were also designed as an accessible space for women. Firstly, they were affordable, allowing those with low income or no personal income to attend. For the working class woman and the housewife, the cinema represented an escape from the drudgery of day to day life, the opportunity to project oneself into other lives and other places. In addition, many screenings were shown in the day time, opening up new options for non-working women's free time, and cinemas often had 'crying rooms' where cinemagoers could drop off their children, giving mothers a much-needed break. In her essay 'So I gave up going to the theatre' (1927), Dorothy Richardson points out the extent to which cinema revolutionised leisure time for women, commenting that 'many of the women sat alone, figures of weariness at rest. Watching these I took comfort. At last the world of entertainment had provided for a few pence, tea thrown in, a sanctuary for mothers, an escape from the everlasting qui vive into eternity on a Monday afternoon'.[18] As well as providing evidence for the cinema as a welcoming space for women, Richardson's essay is also interesting in that it aligns with various other reports of the early days of cinemagoing written by women: many of these focus almost entirely on descriptions of cinema audiences rather than descriptions of the film itself. In an early account of a cinema screening, 'Alice Rix at the Veriscope' (1897), the film in question is a boxing match, but this is only mentioned in passing. The author devotes the majority of the essay to her impressions of her fellow audience members, particularly the women. After her interest is piqued by the comment of a man waiting by the cinema entrance – 'Turn women loose on the chance to see a prize fight without getting herself talked about and there'll be no holding them back'[19] – she determines to see how women will respond to this new experience, even moving seats to get a better view not of the screen, but of a mother and her two teenage daughters in the audience. A similar phenomenon occurs in Mansfield's writing, as she describes a trip to the Hippodrome during which 'the audience – their heads and hands – were the only things worth watching'.[20] The negative implications of this culture of observing and being observed are clear: as previously discussed, women are socialized to constantly modify their appearance and behaviour in order to fit within the narrow boundaries of acceptability, often to the extent to which they continue to instinctively perform these identities even while they are alone. However, the fact that these accounts of watching cinemagoing women primarily appear in the works of women writers makes this observation take on a new context. What

Richardson, Mansfield and Rix's accounts have in common is that they are not scrutinising women's physical appearances or interactions with others, but instead they are fascinated by the rare opportunity to see other women who are, in the words of Mansfield, 'off their guard'.[21]

The ability to put aside one's 'public face' is also a recurring theme in women's writing on the cinema: in 1926, prominent film critic Caroline Alice Lejeune wrote that 'the darkness, the sleepy music, the chance to relax unseen are all women's pleasures which no man, however tired he may be, can ever quite appreciate or understand'.[22] In 1937, Elizabeth Bowen listed her reasons for going to the cinema, the first of which is 'I go to be distracted (or "taken out of myself")'.[23] While in a practical sense the cinema offered an escape for women in terms of an affordable leisure activity and free childcare, its effect was more profound in that it was a public space where women could be unobserved by men for extended periods of time. While there is the possibility of encountering 'gatekeepers' – the voyeuristic men at the cinema door in Rix's account come to mind – once the film begins its female audiences are free to forget the need for performance, with the low lights during the period of projection allowing women to become gender anonymous, a body in the darkness. Before cinema, the theatre arguably occupied a similar role, although its status as a social event and its stricter dress code (and its unofficial role as a place to display one's latest fashionable outfit) means that it did not fully achieve the anonymity of cinemagoing. The fact that this fascination with women's reactions to cinema appears so frequently in women's writing in particular emphasises the importance of the cinema as a safe space, suggesting that the birth of the new medium was influential in reshaping women's place in the spheres of both art and public life.

The cinema's role as a public space in which women did not have to modify their behaviour relates to Lant's argument that cinemagoing was an important part of women's suffrage.[24] Lant points out that the cinema helped to normalise the idea that public spaces and popular entertainment should be equally accessible to women as they were to men, and that women of all social classes were just as willing to engage with the arts. The connection between cinema and suffrage was also drawn by British actress Alma Taylor, who suggested that cinema had 'completed Mrs Pankhurst's work by establishing the Modern Girl's right to a good time and evoking her capacity for enjoying one'. Taylor also echoes Messinger's statement in her assertion that 'women and films have been closely associated from the commencement of moving pictures. With the invention of cinema, women secured, for the first time, a form of entertainment which was peculiarly their own'.[25] Although Taylor's claim that cinema has 'completed Mrs Pankhurst's work' is undeniably optimistic, her words draw attention to a point that is often overlooked. While the educational, instructive and moral capacities of the cinema – or indeed its perceived lack of these – were endlessly debated in the early years of the medium, is having the 'right to a good time' not equally valid? The acknowledgement of

this as a 'right' for women points to a significant social shift: for the first time, women had access to a form of entertainment that took their enjoyment into account as its main objective, rather than dismissing them as a 'special interest' group or assuming that their tastes were less varied than men's. Taylor goes on to subvert these stereotypes, writing

> Women, who are much less conservative than men, demanded novelty. The film-makers accordingly combed the world for the latest fashions – not only in dress but also in manners and ideas. Thus it happened that the screen became a mirror of all that was newest in life – with women always in the forefront of the picture.[26]

This desire to celebrate the new connects the cinema to modernist art and literature, and the fact that women were the driving force behind this again emphasises the extent of their role in modernist innovation.

As well as being avid cinemagoers, women in the early twentieth century were influential in cinematic discourse, contributing to the establishment of a critical language with which the new medium could be interpreted. Often credited as the first British film critic, Iris Barry wrote a regular film column for *The Spectator* before going on to launch the London Film Society in 1925. The Film Society was a prestigious organisation that had a major role to play in establishing the cinema's reputation as a serious art form, bringing experimental, foreign or previously censored films to audiences of thousands. Barry tailored the Film Society's screenings to give prominence to both popular and emerging female directors, with one programme from March 1930 exclusively featuring films directed by women, covering a wide range of styles, genres and nationalities: the programme includes a 'Secrets of Nature' documentary entitled *Down Under* (1929), directed by Mary Field, Lotte Reiniger's silhouette animation of *Cinderella* (1924), Dorothy Arzner's popular comedy *Fashions for Women* (1927), a surrealist, experimental film by Germaine Dulac entitled *The Seashell and the Clergyman* (1928), and Olga Preobrashenskaja's feminist drama *The Peasant Women of Riazan* (1927).[27] As well as showcasing women's contributions to the film industry, the Film Society brought together critics and intellectuals from a variety of backgrounds – writers, visual artists, critics and musicians. A similarly diverse group of modernists – imagist poet H. D., critic Kenneth MacPherson and novelist Bryher, the pen name of Annie Winifred Ellerman - came together in 1927 to form what was to become the most influential highbrow film journal, *Close Up*. The magazine included film criticism and theory, with contributions from major figures in literature and film, such as Dorothy Richardson and Sergei Eisenstein. In other magazines and journals, women writers like Woolf and directors like Dulac published theoretical examinations of the new medium, while *Vogue*'s regular film column under the editorship of Dorothy Todd emphasised film's fashionable

status, as well as allowing writing on cinema to reach a wider, non-academic audience. What these women all had in common was, paradoxically, their distinct lack of commonality, approaching film from widely differing backgrounds but embracing the new medium with a striking rapidity. Hankins draws attention to the diverse paths along which women came to work in and write about the cinema, writing 'Leaping across media, Lydia Lopokova, from the experimental Russian Ballet, danced in a short Pathé film that celebrated cinematic play. H. D. and Barry went from poetry to screen with an alacrity that reveals a hunger for this versatile, vibrant new medium'.[28] This intermedial response to cinema mirrors Mansfield's approach in her writing, as she draws on music and the visual arts in order to establish a unique literary voice. The attraction of the cinema for women in the early twentieth century is apparent: here was a brand new art form with unknowable potential, and, perhaps more importantly, one that had not already been claimed by men. As Hankins points out,

> Perhaps because movies were at first scorned by the largely male highbrow culture industry, women were welcome to write as public intellectuals, as critics and theorists of film. As long as no elite cultural institution such as "Oxbridge" offered credentials for the study of cinema, males were not in a privileged position. Women – many of whom were self-educated outsiders – had equal access to films.[29]

While scholars like Hankins, Acker, Lant and Periz have attempted to re-establish the importance of modernist women's contributions to film culture, the fact remains that these women's critical writing and creative work have not been historicised to the extent of that of their male counterparts. The films from the period that are perceived as 'classics' are almost exclusively directed by men, while retrospective studies of film criticism are dominated by male voices. As Acker demonstrates, this discrepancy is due to the ways in which history is written in a patriarchal society, with men deciding which texts, films and people are culturally and historically relevant – 'History has been just that: *his story*'.[30] Significantly, the only female names from this era that survive in many accounts of early cinema are those of actresses, which dismisses women's intellectual contribution to the cinema, reducing them to objects to be admired. As noted above, this is a problem that women face in all aspects of public life: it is difficult for a woman to be considered truly successful and worthwhile unless she is also conventionally attractive.

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II. Artistic Exchange Between Women's Fiction and the Cinema

Returning to the potential reasons behind women's engagement with early cinema, it is interesting to note the similarities between women's impressions of cinema and the changes that were occurring in women's fiction during this period. An example of this parallel can be found in Barry's *Let's Go to the Pictures*, in which she argues that cinema should be considered to be a valid art form:

> Because the moving picture speaks direct to the eye, it is a powerful form of communication. […] So it comes about that even in the crudest films something is provided for the imagination, and emotion is stirred by the simplest things - moonlight playing in a bare room, the flicker of a hand against a window. Is this not a virtue, dramatically, and for its enhancement of what, apart from the films, would be common and pointless?[31]

Barry's suggestion that the true emotional impact of cinema is brought about by defamiliarising everyday objects and gestures is directly comparable to Mansfield's belief in the changing role of fiction in an uncertain modern world. In a letter to Murry, she identifies a pattern in the works of male writers that she wishes to avoid:

> I cant imagine how after the war these men can pick up the old threads as tho' it had never been. […] It doesn't mean that Life is the less precious [or] that the 'common things of light and day' are gone. They are not gone, they are intensified, they are illumined. Now we know ourselves for what we are. In a way its a tragic knowledge. Its as though, even while we live again we face death. But *through Life*: thats the point. We see death in life as we see death in a flower that is fresh unfolded.[32]

In a subsequent comparison of her own work and Murry's, she notes that she takes a different approach to him when confronting death and despair, or as she puts it, 'deserts':

> But the difference between you and me is (perhaps Im wrong) I couldn't tell anybody *bang out* about those deserts. They are my secret. I might write about a boy eating strawberries or a woman combing her hair on a windy morning & that is the only way I can ever mention them. But they *must* be there. Nothing less will do.[33]

It seems significant that in both of these reflections on Mansfield's writing, she compares her approach to that of her male contemporaries, consciously setting herself apart from their tendency to address dark or controversial subject matter directly. The tendency to fall back into comfortable habits in a world that is irrevocably changed is, in Mansfield's opinion, dangerously complacent: artists are responsible for adapting their work to reflect social changes, although Mansfield implies

that both approaches - the denial of these changes or the attempt to directly explain them - are a result of men attempting to maintain their dominant social position. Mansfield believes that following an event of the devastating scale of the Great War, previous language and literary conventions are no longer sufficient if one wishes to truly represent this changed world. In her writing, she therefore turns to other media for inspiration, confronting her 'deserts' through a series of seemingly innocuous images. The similarity between Mansfield's abstract, symbolic visuals and Barry's comments on the cinema's ability to imbue the everyday with deeper meaning suggests that Mansfield may have drawn upon the new medium in her fiction: the unclaimed and unshaped nature of the cinema would perhaps have been attractive to her as a means of finding a literary voice free from male-established literary conventions. Mansfield suggests that the difference between the works of her male contemporaries and her own is that they tell their readers how to think and feel, while her work is open to interpretation, with deeper emotional meaning that readers can explore on their own.

While the War appears as a suppressed, uneasy presence in many of Mansfield's stories, it is rarely confronted directly, instead being evoked through the appearance of symbolic objects, allowing emotion, in the words of Barry, to be 'stirred by the simplest things'. In 'Pictures', Mansfield's only work to directly reference the film industry, the impact of the war is subtly suggested through the image of a brooch: in a café, Miss Moss overhears the waitress telling the cashier about her boyfriend coming home, although the fact that he has been at war is only implied by the gift he has brought her – 'a sweet little brooch' with '"Dieppe" written on it'.[34] As the narrative is focalized through Miss Moss's perspective, this incident takes place as background noise to her own, more immediate struggles. However, the brooch and its suggestive engraving significantly remain in her mind after she leaves the café, to the extent that it takes a taxi driver shouting at her to return her to reality. Although the War or even soldiers are not directly mentioned in the text, the image of the brooch and its effect on Miss Moss create a visualisation of subconscious fear: in the words of Mansfield, the brooch is a 'common thing' that is 'intensified' and 'illumined'. Mansfield also uses suggestive visuals elsewhere in her fiction in order to indirectly address subjects that are considered taboo, as discussed in chapter four: in 'Leves Amores' and 'Vignette: Summer in Winter', she uses cinematic object animation and projection-like effects to suggest an awakening of homosexual desire, while in her journal the imminent threat of being caught during her illegal sojourn with Carco – as well as a potential fear of male sexual potency – is suggested by the image of 'the sword, the big ugly sword, but not between us, lying in a chair'.[35] This abstract, visual engagement with such emotional subject matter is what sets Mansfield's work apart: unlike the male authors she criticises in her letters, she does not attempt to deny important issues in her fiction, and unlike Murry she

engages with these questions without telling her readers how to feel, or suggesting that there is any single, universal response to a changing world.

This tendency to assume a universal reaction to anything is particularly suggestive of white, middle-class male privilege, a concept that is also challenged by Mansfield's contemporaries like Woolf. In Woolf's 'Modern Fiction', she criticises authors like Arnold Bennett and John Galsworthy, asserting that although they inform their readers in minute detail how they should be thinking and feeling, their fiction fails to address anything truly meaningful: 'life escapes; and perhaps without life nothing else is worthwhile'.[36] Like Barry and Mansfield, Woolf suggests that authors and artists should attempt to capture life through a focus on impressions and the everyday, writing,

> Let us record the atoms as they fall upon the mind in the order in which they fall, let us trace the pattern, however disconnected and incoherent in appearance, which each sight or incident scores upon the consciousness. Let us not take it for granted that life exists more fully in what is commonly thought big than in what is commonly thought small.[37]

Woolf's comments that small moments should not be dismissed as unimportant reflects the ethos of Mansfield's fiction, as well as providing another connection between literature and cinema, again relating back to Barry's point that 'emotion is stirred by the simplest things'. Woolf's reflections on the potential of film in her essay 'The Cinema' are also anticipated here, as she imagines 'something abstract, something moving, something calling only for the very slightest help from words or from music to make itself intelligible – of such movements, of such abstractions the films may in time come to be composed'.[38] It is possible to argue therefore that the reliance on abstract visual symbols in order to evoke an emotional response was not exclusive to the cinema, as Barry suggests, but rather a change occurring across various forms of media. In Mansfield's view, this visual consciousness is particularly important to women's fiction, as women sought ways to indirectly confront large-scale change or controversial issues.

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III. 'Each possession of mine seems to stir into life': Surreal Transformations, Object Animation and Time Lapse in Mansfield's Fiction

As well as making use of apparently insignificant images in order to hint at more serious issues, Mansfield's fiction is also aligned with cinema through its focus on subjective impressions of reality. In 'The Cinema', Woolf praises visual representations of madness in *The Cabinet of Dr Caligari*, but suggests that this should have been taken further, expressing her regret that 'a monstrous quivering

tadpole' that momentarily appeared on the screen was a fault on the film stock rather than a completely abstract visualisation of subjective thought as she had initially supposed.[39] Perhaps the closest that cinema has come to Woolf's speculations can be found in the films of the French surrealists, who aimed to reject direct representation in favour of more symbolic interpretations of the workings of the human mind. In a study of surrealist film theory, Lee Jamieson discusses the surrealists' mistrust of realism, suggesting that by representing a thought in art or literature, the thought's intended meaning is destroyed: 'This materialisation of art separates it from the body and distances it from its original conception; consequently, it dies, unable to sustain its sensuality in the physical universe. Ultimately, the act of representation reduces the final (art)efact (be it visual or literary) to an empty shell – a mere tombstone marking its former life'.[40] This interpretation of representation as the death of meaning anticipates poststructuralist theory, as well as echoing Mansfield's words when she insists that she is unable to tell anyone 'bang out' about the 'deserts' in her mind. The aims of the surrealist movement are outlined in Breton's *Manifestoes of Surrealism* (1969), in which he suggests that surrealist works must 'express – verbally, by means of the written word, or in any other manner – the actual functioning of thought […] Surrealism is based on the belief in the superior reality of certain forms of previously neglected associations, in the omnipotence of dream, in the disinterested play of thought'.[41] It seems therefore that the cinema would have been the ideal medium with which to explore these ideas: in its early years, the cinema relied on a combination of unspoken words, image and music in order to convey meaning, allowed thoughts and dreams to be expressed in visual form, and created narratives that moved freely in time and space and between fantasy and reality. Although Luis Buñuel and Salvador Dalí's infamous *Un Chien Andalou* (1929) is generally considered to be the first surrealist film, Jamieson points out that this film was preceded by, and heavily borrows from, Germaine Dulac's *The Seashell and the Clergyman* (1928), although as a female film director in the 1920s, Dulac's work has not been canonised to the extent of Buñuel's. Included in Barry's Film Society line-up for March 1930, the programme boasts that *The Seashell and the Clergyman* was initially rejected by the British Board of Film Censors, who dismissed it as being 'so cryptic as to be almost meaningless. If there is a meaning, it is doubtless objectionable'.[42] In spite of this initial response, subsequent interpretations of Dulac's film argue that it was ahead of its time, attempting to use the new medium of the cinema in a uniquely experimental manner. Dulac believed that the aim of cinema was to 'visualize the events or the joys of inner life. One could make a film with a single character in conflict with his impressions'.[43] *The Seashell and the Clergyman* is the direct result of this manifesto, exploring the tortured inner life of a priest who is torn between his religious duties and his obsession with another man's wife. Much like *Un Chien Andalou*, the film's visualisation of the priest's interiority is alternately dreamlike and

shockingly visceral: Jamieson proposes that '*The Seashell and the Clergyman* penetrates the skin of material reality and plunges the viewer into an unstable landscape where the image cannot be trusted […] The result is a complex, multi-layered film, so semiotically unstable that images dissolve into one another both visually and "semantically", truly investing in film's ability to act upon the subconscious'.[44] In the film, these dissolving images take on violent undertones as an image of the priest's rival is bisected, splitting down the centre, and the priest's own face appears between the two halves. The priest's desire to transcend his pious role is suggested, but Jamieson points out that this striking visual could also represent not only a desire to replace but rather a collision of identities – the two men are not distinct individuals, but rather two halves of a whole. The viewer questions whether the rival and the object of the priest's affections are presented as real characters, or merely facets of the priest's own troubled mind. Similarly surreal visual displacements occur throughout Mansfield's body of work, perhaps most strikingly so in 'At the Bay', in which Beryl's confused mental state and subconscious desires are suggested as her friend appears to grotesquely transform into her husband:

> 'I believe in pretty girls having a good time,' said Mrs Harry Kember. 'Why not? Don't you make a mistake, my dear. Enjoy yourself.' And suddenly she turned turtle, disappeared, and swam away quickly, quickly, like a rat. […] Beryl felt that she was being poisoned by this cold woman, but she longed to hear. But oh, how strange, how horrible! As Mrs Harry Kember came up close she looked, in her black waterproof bathing-cap, with her sleepy face lifted above the water, just her chin touching, like a horrible caricature of her husband.[45]

Mansfield's affinity with surrealist methods is evident here, as she avoids directly explaining Beryl's relationship with Mrs Kember, instead illustrating her thought process through this disturbing visual transformation. Much like Dulac's priest, Beryl is intoxicated by the forbidden nature of this friendship: her comparison of Mrs Kember to rats and poison implies that at one level, she is aware that it is dangerous to be associated with a woman of her reputation, yet she is still drawn to her, experiencing a 'longing' which she is unable to articulate. It seems possible that Beryl's confusion could relate to her developing sexuality. All of her previous musings on potential romantic relationships fall within socially acceptable parameters, as she pictures anonymous men watching her admiringly, playing a protective role, rescuing her from her humdrum life. However, in contrast to these somewhat sterile and detached visions, the feelings that Mrs Kember arouses in Beryl seem far more passionate: she feels inexplicably shy around her, she thinks of herself as 'a little beauty' after Mrs Kember repeatedly compliments her, and experiences 'a quick, bold, evil feeling' when Mrs Kember persuades her to ignore propriety and change into her bathing suit in public.[46] It

remains ambiguous whether Beryl's reactions to Mrs Kember simply stem from the thrill of rebellion or whether this is something more, although the transformation of Mrs Kember into her husband – who, interestingly, is described earlier as 'like a mask rather than a man'[47] – could be read as Beryl's attempt to repress her sexual questioning. The fact that Beryl refers to her friend only by her husband's full name, Mrs Harry Kember, adds to this uncanny doubling effect between husband and wife, with Mrs Kember's belief in 'pretty girls having a good time' foreshadowing the potential violence of Beryl's encounter with Mr Kember at the end of the narrative. A similar visual doubling appears in Mansfield's journal, as she discusses her struggle to find a new sense of self following her brother Leslie's death, as well as the sensation that a part of herself has also been destroyed. Mansfield's belief in her connection with Leslie is so strong that she describes waking from a dream about him and feeling physically transformed: 'I felt my face was his serious, sleepy face. I felt that the lines of my mouth were changed, and I blinked like he did on waking'.[48] Much like surrealist cinema, both Beryl and Mansfield's own visions do not have one explicit interpretation: as Breton asserts, the human thought process is too complex to deal in absolutes, therefore representations of this must be equally multifaceted. Beryl is comparable to Dulac's priest, as she too, in the words of Dulac, is 'in conflict with her impressions'. By presenting Beryl's inner life as ambiguous, Mansfield emphasises the liminality of her existence: as an adolescent woman, she is poised between childhood and adulthood, and due to her social position and upbringing she has not been offered the language or understanding she requires to interpret her desires.

Perhaps Mansfield's most ambiguous yet visually rich works are her series of 'Vignettes', which offer a journal-like glimpse into her own interior monologue while simultaneously hinting at the presence of a wider world. The majority of the Vignettes feature a female narrator who is situated within an enclosed, domestic space, with the outside world appearing dark and foreboding. This can be read as commentary on women's social position, taking their lack of freedom to move outside of domestic spaces into account. The first of these pieces of prose, simply entitled 'Vignettes' (1907), is a luxuriant exploration of the senses, as the speaker leans from the window of her London home and contemplates the city by night, only to see it transform before her eyes. The transformation is set in motion by an auditory stimulus, the cry of a child, which combines with an unknown sound, the 'old, old cry for the moon that rises eternally into the great vastness'.[49] This harmonising of the new with the ancient triggers a sensory trip back in time: firstly a return to a pre-industrial age, as the speaker sees the city buildings fade and become replaced by 'a field of blue cabbages' that 'shimmers like a cold sea', and subsequently to a still more primitive time, free from human interference, as 'before me, and around me, the beech woods rise, strong, black, and alluring'.[50] The appearance of a manmade structure in the imaginary forest gives temporary pause to this vision of slipping back in

time, but it is revealed to be a desolate ruin – 'the old castle, a mammoth skeleton, a vast, yawning, forsaken tomb, in whose grey shadows the sweet body of romance lies – long dead'.[51] This series of images of death and decay seem to imply that human endeavour is fruitless, and we have no place in this vibrant natural landscape: like the mammoth that is invoked, we are destined for extinction. The speaker's imaginative journey into the past, as well as the time-lapse effect of the rising forest, aligns Mansfield's fiction with experimental cinema, as she makes use of innovative visual effects in order to question existence and illustrate the troubled interior of the human mind. In an essay responding to Woolf's criticisms of the often overly literal nature of the cinema, Gilbert Seldes argues that French abstract filmmakers successfully used the cinema to create the artistic forms that Woolf envisioned. According to Seldes, abstract films are made 'purely for visual enjoyment' and involve 'objects in motion':

> The objects may be easily identified – a straw hat, a boat on the Seine, a row of bottles, a shoot-the-chutes; or they may be distorted, seen through a prismatic glass, through smoke, at unusual angles, upside down. The movement may be accelerated or retarded, shown backward, repeated, tricked in a hundred ways. There may be a swelling blot of ink on a pane of glass, a shadow endowed with proper life, mysterious darkness or twilight on the screen.[52]

The connection between Mansfield's writing and abstract cinema are apparent, as literary equivalents of the visual effects Seldes outlines appear throughout Mansfield's body of work. Both accelerated and backward movement are explored in 'Vignettes', while other sketches in Mansfield's Vignettes series use evocative 'living shadows', such as the accusatory pointing fingers of the shadow in 'Vignette: Summer in Winter'. Mansfield experiments with distorted viewpoints in 'Vignette: Westminster Cathedral' (1907), as the people seen from the cathedral's lofty viewpoint seem to be 'flies in the folds of some gigantic tablecloth'.[53] Similarly distorted objects also appear in Mansfield's private writing, as she describes watching two men pushing a barrow who appear to visually fragment, becoming 'all bottoms and feet'.[54] Much like abstract film, Mansfield's writing does not have a single meaning or interpretation, again suggesting her desire to confront serious subjects indirectly, through focus on a striking action or object. In 'Vignettes', the speaker's sadness seems to be due to her consciousness of an upcoming, disastrous event, although in a manner typical of Mansfield's fiction, this is not addressed. Even the speaker herself feels uncertain, describing her emotions as 'vague', 'agitating' and 'inexplicable'.[55] As in Dulac's films, Mansfield chooses to show rather than tell in her writing, capturing an internal world through significant external images.

Returning to 'Vignettes', the narrative ends with the appearance of a human figure in the street outside the speaker's home, who seems to break the spell, returning her to the present moment. While the speaker mentions the names of this figure's companions, he himself seems like an allegorical character, referred to only as 'Monsieur le Musician'. The musician's appearance seems to mark a tentative rebirth of art and human endeavour in the desolate world that the speaker envisages, as the visceral 'muttering of the darkness, the half-stifled breathing of the summer night' is replaced by the musician's soft whistling of 'the opening bars of Max Bruach's D Minor Concerto'.[56] However, this return to reality still retains dreamlike qualities, as the musician is described as 'a dream figure, stepping into the night picture with singular appropriateness of expression'.[57] The images of both 'a dream figure' and 'the night picture' are cinematically suggestive, as well as the lantern that the musician carries, evoking precinematic projection technologies.

Early forms of cinema are also potentially referenced in the final section of 'Vignettes'. Like Linda in 'Prelude', the speaker has been confined indoors for an extended period, in this case due to bad weather, and this causes her to seek an imaginative escape, seeing the enclosed world around her appear to transform: 'Strange, as I sit here, quiet, alone, how each possession of mine – the calendar gleaming whitely on the wall, each picture, each book, my 'cello case, the very furniture – seems to stir into life. The Velasquez Venus moves on her couch, ever so slightly; across the face of Manon a strange smile flickers for an instant, and is gone, my rocking chair is full of patient resignation, my 'cello case is wrapt in profound thought'.[58] These animistic qualities connect Mansfield's writing to Seldes' observations on the significance of objects in motion in abstract film, as well as providing another comparison between Mansfield and Barry, as Barry suggests that the cinema 'brings out an enormous significance in natural objects', and that 'chairs and tables, collar-studs, kitchenware and flowers take on a function which they have lost, except for young children, since animism was abandoned in the accumulating sophistication of "progress"'.[59] For Mansfield, this object animation is anything but naïve, acting as a visual representation of her characters' troubled mental states as well as critiquing the confining nature of domestic spaces and the effect of this confinement on the human mind. If imagining household objects 'coming alive' is childish, then Mansfield points out that the act of restricting people's movements – particularly those of women – to being within the confines of the interior has a detrimental effect on mental health, stunting development and forcing women to retain childlike knowledge and beliefs instead of being permitted to engage with a wider world. In the case of 'Vignettes', the speaker's inner conflict is due to her desire for another woman who is no longer part of her life. In an immersive analepsis, she remembers sitting next to her companion on a similarly stormy night, wrapped in a blanket and discussing their future together,

and later 'I watched her, and thought, and longed, but could not sleep'.[60] As in 'Vignette: Summer in Winter', the speaker's desire is expressed visually: the outside world in the present moment is repeatedly described as 'dark', 'grey' and 'bitter', with colour only appearing in flashback, with a 'gaily striped' blanket, a bright fire and visions of escape to a desert island.[61] The object of Mansfield's desire in this case is based on a New Zealand friend, the artist Edith Kathleen Bendall, about whom a youthful Mansfield wrote many passionate journal entries: 'pillowed against her, clinging to her hands, her face against mine, I am a child, a woman, and more than half man'.[62] Significantly, such emotionally-charged and explicit accounts of sexual desire appear only in Mansfield's private writing, suggesting a further reason behind her reliance on visual displacement in her published work. Just as she feels unable to impose on her readers by telling them how they should think and feel about various large-scale events, she also distances herself from direct examinations of homosexuality, partly to avoid inevitable censorship, as in the infamous case of Radclyffe Hall's lesbian novel *The Well of Loneliness* (1929), but perhaps also to suggest that love is never straightforward. Like Beryl's conflicting reactions to Mrs Harry Kember, Mansfield's characters are rarely able to fully acknowledge or comprehend the emotions they are experiencing. Laura's faltering line at the end of 'The Garden Party' (1921) is also recalled, as she fails to find the words to articulate her feelings on the unfairness of both class divisions and death: she is only able to stammer the words 'Isn't life… Isn't life -' before being silenced by her brother Laurie, with both Laura and Laurie performing the social roles they have been indoctrinated into.[63] Interestingly, Laura's true realisation of her inauthenticity is projected on to an external object, as she leaves her working-class neighbour's household sobbing 'forgive my hat'.[64] Throughout the narrative, the hat reappears as a visual leitmotif, representing both Laura's constructed identity as society hostess and her censorship by others as she tentatively begins to move outside of these learned parameters. In a society in which women have not been given the language to express themselves on taboo subjects, from the rejection of traditional class and gender roles to the sensation that they don't fit with the heterosexual norm, Mansfield instead uses abstract visuals and symbolic objects as a means of revealing her characters' interiorities.

A further parallel between Mansfield's writing and popular themes in early cinema can be drawn through an examination of nature films. In *Red Velvet Seat*, Lant notes that an emerging trend among women writers and filmmakers in the first decades of the cinema is a fascination with educational biological films, particularly those featuring the growth of plants.[65] Films on this subject were made by Mary Field, who wrote and directed the 'Secrets of Nature' series alongside Percy Smith, and Dulac also examined plant life in films like *Germination d'un Haricot* (1928), as well as using images of growth in composite films such as *Thèmes et Variations* (1928). The impact of these

films was written about by various modernist women writers, including Colette, who avidly watched Field's films and described 'the birth of [the seed's] tunnelling radicelles, the avid yawning of the cotyledons from which sprung up, throwing its serpent's head like a spear, the first sprout'.[66] What most of these written accounts of nature films have in common is a fascination with the visualisation of growth, as the camera is able to manipulate time in order to reveal phenomena that were previously hidden to the human eye. Dulac writes 'the cinema, by capturing these unconscious, instinctive, and mechanical movements […] allows us to witness plant life's unseen aspirations toward air and light […] producing, in graceful contours, the drama and physical pleasure of growth and blossoming'.[67] The implied comparison to human life through the notion of growth being a 'drama' that provides physical pleasure is explored in Dulac's *Thèmes et Variations*, which features a montage of cuts between a time-lapse of a vine stretching to grow around a pole and shots of a ballerina's hands reaching slowly and gracefully upwards. Dulac again intercuts between images of nature and women's bodies in *Etude cinématographique sur un arabesque* (1929), which alternates images of an anemone opening with shots of a woman in a garden wearing beautiful veils. Lant links this common visual device to the expression in which female maturation is referred to as 'blooming':

> The expression linked women to natural beauty, but also suggested that the female sex emerged from a concealed, hitherto unobserved state (the bud) to become seen, and even eye-catching. [Nature films] made visible a development which had remained invisible, and in this sense mapped a path from interiority to exteriority which may have had uncanny resonance for female viewers […] and in their status as hidden knowledge, viewed unawares, even evoked women's own shaky grasp of their own interiors, so long described by medicine and other branches of science in mysterious and enclosed terms.[68]

The avoidance of both direct examinations and verbalisations of female bodies and sexualities is a concept that Mansfield frequently explores, again anticipating Dulac in her use of nature metaphors. The structure of 'Prelude' can be read as a form of time-lapse through the simultaneity of the Burnell family, who can be interpreted as one woman represented at various stages of life. Images of plants growing and decaying are also intertwined throughout the narrative, with the story's original title 'The Aloe' emphasising the significance of the family's connection to the natural world. The aloe is the symbolic heart of the story, with Linda envying the plant's sharp defences and almost non-existent flowering, horrified by her own fertility. As discussed in chapter four, Linda's constant cycles of pregnancy and childbirth have damaged both her physical and mental health, severely limiting her mobility. In her isolated state, she imagines her restrictive surroundings visually transforming, including a time-lapse-like moment in which a poppy on her bedroom wallpaper appears to bloom

before her eyes. The fact that this transformation occurs only when Linda touches the poppy is significant, relating to her fear of involuntarily creating life. Furthermore, the flower is described in sexually suggestive terms, as Linda contemplates its 'fat bursting bud' and describes its texture as both 'silky' and 'sticky'.[69] The symbolic link between poppies and images of war and death as well as opiated drugs emphasises the uneasy nature of the flower's fertility, suggesting that Linda equates sex with sedation, pain and death.

Lant suggests that women's responses to these intimate views of plants in early film had sexual undertones. In her novel *Do I Wake Or Sleep* (1946), Isabel Bolton presents a cinemagoer being moved by a 'heavenly' time-lapse of a blooming rose, which 'silently, precisely, unfolded its matchless and immaculate petals, laying one over upon another until all the delicate threadlike stamens were exposed and each, tipped with its divine essential grain of pollen, quivering, shivering there before her eyes'.[70] Lant argues that this erotically-charged response in women's writing is due to their lack of sexual freedom and access to pornography, with the phallic and vulvic suggestiveness of plants allowing them to envisage human genitalia.[71] While Linda's response to the sexual potential of the natural world is one of disgust, other characters in Mansfield's work encounter nature in a variety of visually interesting ways. Blooming flowers on wallpaper appear again in both 'Leves Amores' and 'Vignette: Summer in Winter', although unlike Linda, the protagonists of these stories use the flowers as a positive visual representation of sexual awakening as they realise that they desire their female companions. Flowers also play a role in Beryl's flirtatious performances, as she tucks a bunch of pansies into the bosom of her dress, allowing them to fall out in a suggestive gesture, as well as envisaging flowers gifted to her by imaginary admirers. It is notable, however, that few of these flowers appear to be real: the bouquets from her suitors are 'bright' and 'waxy', the flowers she wears are made of 'black silk'.[72] It appears that although Beryl surrounds herself with flower imagery to accentuate herself as desirable, a young woman in bloom, her flirtatious behaviour is as false as the flowers themselves. As Lant suggests, flowers potentially evoke 'women's own shaky grasp of their own interiors': Beryl knows how she is expected to act and appear, but is still mystified by her own body and desires.

Further examples of the casualties of a system in which women have no access to reliable information about their bodies appear in both 'Bliss' and 'The Daughters of the Late Colonel'. Much like Bolton's protagonist's erotically-charged response to the image of the blooming rose, Bertha in 'Bliss' projects her displaced desire on to the pear tree in her garden, watching it 'stretch up, to point, to quiver in the bright air, to grow taller and taller as they gazed – almost to touch the rim of the round, silver moon'.[73] However, much like Beryl, Bertha's connection with the tree is revealed to be false: while it remains 'as lovely as ever and as full of flower', she realizes that she has missed her

chance to bloom.[74] Josephine and Constantia, the eponymous daughters of the late colonel, are similarly stunted both sexually and psychologically, having lived their lives in the shadow of their overbearing father. However, following his death, the two women experience an awakening that is described in terms of a flower unfolding: 'The thieving sun touched Josephine gently. She lifted her face. She was drawn over to the window by gentle beams…'[75] The sun is personified, like a lover, suggesting that Josephine is conscious not only of her liberation from her role as her father's carer, but also a liberation from the imposed childlike role she has been assuming, finally reclaiming a sense of womanhood. In a letter lamenting her readers' lack of understanding of the story, Mansfield emphasises the importance of this metaphor of blooming, stating that 'all was meant, of course, to lead up to that last paragraph, when my two flowerless ones turned with that timid gesture, to the sun. "Perhaps *now*".'[76] Although Mansfield does not directly mention nature films in her writing, her interest in the cinema combined with the ubiquity of these visual effects in films of the 1910s and 20s suggest that it is highly likely that she would have encountered this form of entertainment. Through use of time-lapse-like effects and visual metaphors of growth and blossoming, Mansfield is able to confront questions of female sexuality in a society in which this remains a taboo subject.

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IV. Cinematicity and the Male Gaze in 'The Little Governess'

In addition to the exploration of female sexuality, Mansfield also illustrates women's lack of power and sexual agency in visual terms. In 'The Little Governess', Mansfield cinematically presents the precarious situation of her young female protagonist through a focus on the direction of the gaze, allowing the power dynamics in the narrative to be dramatically visualised. Sixty years prior to the publication of Laura Mulvey's famous examination of the male gaze in 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', Mansfield explores the psychological impact of looking and being looked at, and the ways in which these exchanges are affected by age, gender and social class. In her essay, Mulvey suggests that pleasure gained from gazing at another is twofold, based on both scopophilia – deriving pleasure from looking at a person, often voyeuristically – and the ego libido, or the desire for likeness and recognition of oneself through observation of another. Mulvey also points out that a male gaze on a woman is necessarily troubled, as it draws attention to her sexual difference, thus evoking Freudian anxieties of castration. According to Mulvey, 'the male unconscious has two avenues of escape from this castration anxiety: preoccupation with the re-enactment of the original trauma (investigating the woman, demystifying her mystery), counterbalanced with the devaluation, punishment or saving of the guilty object; […] or else complete disavowal of castration by the

substitution of a fetish object or turning the represented figure itself into a fetish so that it becomes reassuring rather than dangerous.'[77]

Fig. 49: *Kinetoscope – Exterior View*

The first of these avenues of escape derives its pleasure from voyeurism, associated with sadism as 'pleasure lies in ascertaining guilt (immediately associated with castration), asserting control and subjecting the guilty person through punishment or forgiveness.'[78] This voyeurism/sadism dichotomy is illustrated in 'The Little Governess' through the various men whom the governess encounters on her journey, who alternately objectify and punish her with their threatening gaze. Mansfield explores the voyeuristic effect of the gaze in the scene in which a group of young men stare at the governess through the window in the door of her train compartment. An effect comparable to a kinetoscope or a Victorian peep show is created, as the men take turns to look at the girl through the small, screen-like aperture. Mansfield's descriptions of the men 'bending down' to better see the 'little girl in the corner'[79] also suggests the workings of a kinetoscope (fig. 49), as kinetoscope films often included explicit or revealing scenes that were created for the pleasure of an assumed heterosexual male audience, with frequent images of women undressing or bathing. While we associate motion picture censorship with the conservativism of the 1930s and 40s, the first known case of motion picture censorship was in fact attributed to a kinetoscope film that was released in 1894, featuring a well-known music hall dancer known as Carmencita in a revealing performance.[80] The sordid associations of kinetoscope viewing enhance the unpleasant sexual undertones of the scene, emphasising the men's dominance and the girl's vulnerability. This screen-like, private observation also appears elsewhere in Mansfield's body of work, as in 'The Journey to

Bruges', in which passengers on a boat look through 'a white partition' which has 'a window set in it for the purpose of providing endless amusement for the curious, who peered through it, watching those bold and brave spirits who walked "for'ard" and were drenched and beaten by the waves'.[81] The viewers' delight in the misfortunes of their fellow passengers emphasises the sense of detachment created by this screen-like viewing experience – much like the men who watch the governess, the humanity of those they watch is not taken into consideration, with the removal of a 'screen' creating the false impression that those behind the screen are there for the viewers' entertainment.

This sadistic side of the gaze is also apparent through the governess's encounters with the porter and the waiter. Mansfield's use of free indirect discourse emphasises the governess's fear of the porter, with phrases like 'pounced,' 'leapt,' and 'sniffing at the money'[82] suggesting that she sees him as not merely rude, but also predatory and animalistic. However, Mansfield suggests that the most threatening aspect of the porter's treatment of the governess is his invasive gaze, which is again described subjectively as a physical attack: 'she felt his sharp eyes pricking her all over.'[83] Similarly, the waiter in the hotel is 'all eyes and ears' for the governess, with the repeated references to his 'stare'[84] creating a haptic quality that enhances the governess's feelings of unease. The governess's dealings with these two men represent the only moments in the narrative where she asserts herself and stands up to the oppressive patriarchal society in which she is alone for the first time, through her refusal to give the porter a large tip and her dismissal of the waiter after his rude treatment of her. However, the governess is subsequently punished for her rebellion, as the porter and waiter both reassert their dominance over her, the porter by removing the 'Dames Seules' notice on her compartment door and thus leaving her vulnerable to unwanted male attention and potentially an assault; and the waiter through misinforming her new employer and presumably causing her to lose her job. The story ends with the waiter experiencing intense, sadistic pleasure over his petty revenge on the girl. As the narrative briefly shifts to his perspective, he experiences the sensation that he is a 'giant', feeling 'his heart beat so hard against his ribs he nearly chuckled aloud.'[85] Mulvey's notion of deriving pleasure from ascertaining guilt and asserting control is emphasised, as the governess is punished for her transgressive femininity and her lack of respect for the two men's maleness. Mansfield's famous statement about women being held by 'the self-fashioned chains of slavery'[86] is again relevant: the story highlights women's lack of freedom as the governess is unable to travel alone without being at the mercy of men's cruelty. However, Mansfield reveals that the governess too is complicit in these patriarchal beliefs. When the porter brings the old man's belongings into her compartment, the old man asks her if he should move to a men's carriage and she is shocked: 'What! that old man have to move all those heavy things just because

she… "No, it's quite all right. You don't disturb me at all."'[87] Mansfield illustrates the internalisation of sexist and misogynistic beliefs in a patriarchal society, as the governess has been socialised to believe that she deserves inferior treatment to and fewer rights than her male counterparts, particularly those who are older than her and thus automatically considered worthy of more respect. In yet another example of women failing to finds the words to articulate their experiences and fears, her sense of inferiority causes her to shift the blame on to herself for being a coward rather than blaming the men on the train for making her feel intimidated and unsafe.

A similar denial of women's basic human rights by both men and women is addressed in one of Mansfield's earlier stories, 'Frau Brechenmacher Attends a Wedding'. The objectification and dehumanisation of women is again expressed in visual terms, as the bride Theresa is scrutinized with a violent gaze. The traditional imagery of a bride as a figure to be looked upon with admiration is subverted through Mansfield's repeated references to Theresa being trapped by threatening eyes, as well as through Frau Brechenmacher's sinister comparison of Theresa to 'an iced cake all ready to be cut and served in neat pieces to the bridegroom beside her'.[88] Like the governess and Linda in 'Prelude', Frau Brechenmacher has not learned how to articulate her fear of male sexual violence in words, with her emotions instead being expressed through evocative imagery. The judgemental eyes that follow Theresa are not exclusively male, however, as she is criticised primarily by the women in the party for bringing her illegitimate child to the wedding. Although Mansfield later implies that this child is the result of rape, the women still consider Theresa to be shameful for having sex outside of marriage, suggesting that she deserves the slovenly man whom she has now taken for a husband, as her worth as a wife was lost with the loss of her virginity. Women's part in the reinforcement of patriarchy is illustrated, as Theresa is revealed to be a younger counterpart for Frau Brechenmacher, again through visual effects as Mansfield presents a disturbing close up of Herr Brechenmacher with 'saliva spluttering out of his mouth as he talked',[89] linking him to Theresa's animalistic new husband. Similarly, Frau Brechenmacher's distress while listening to her husband's innuendo-laden speech is indicated through a filmic subjective effect, as the people's faces around her become grotesque and 'the hot room seemed to heave and sway with laughter',[90] as both she and Theresa are reminded of the violation of their bodies that comes with childbirth. Through this visual connection between the two women across generations, Mansfield suggests that the cycle of violence against women and the notion that they are men's property will repeat endlessly as long as women accept their position. Following a discussion of spousal violence, one woman mildly states 'every wife has her cross',[91] indicating that these women, like the little governess, have been brought up to believe that their sex means that they are destined for a life of sacrifice and suffering.

In addition to voyeurism and sadism as a means of asserting dominance over women, Mulvey suggests that the male gaze can derive pleasure through the fetishisation of the female form, transforming it into an arousing rather than a threatening object. This fetishistic scopophilia is illustrated in 'The Little Governess' through the old man's gaze upon the governess when he first enters the carriage. The free indirect discourse in this scene creates a gap between the governess and the reader, as she naively permits the old man's gaze, interpreting it as protective rather than threatening. The governess's projections of a fairytale narrative onto the old man are undermined by Mansfield's sexual imagery, as the reader realises that 'the flush that licked his cheeks' as he 'gazed and gazed'[92] is unlikely to be caused by righteous indignation that such a beautiful young woman should have to travel alone, as the governess innocently believes. Mansfield's use of cinematic close-up also reveals the true nature of the old man's gaze, as it focuses on commonly sexualised areas of the female body, lingering on her 'bare little hand', 'lips moving', and 'hair that fairly blazed under the light'.[93] Mulvey's description of scopophilia is again suggested, as she states that this desire to look is based on the desire to objectify and possess the person or object that is looked upon. By breaking the governess's image down into its component parts, the old man diminishes her humanity, presenting her in the manner that women are often depicted in film, not as characters but as 'the leitmotif of erotic spectacle'.[94] Like Henry in 'Something Childish but very Natural', the old man disturbingly fetishises the governess's childlike traits, focusing his gaze on the contrast between her 'little' hand and the 'big' pages of the papers she reads, and watching her lips unselfconsciously move as she reads, both features which make her appear young and vulnerable. This vulnerability is again emphasised later in the narrative through Mansfield's use of a lingering close-up on the pair's hands during their handshake, as her little hand 'lost itself'[95] in his big one, foreshadowing the great loss that the girl is soon to experience.

Mansfield herself was familiar with the controlling effects of the male gaze: in a journal entry dated from November 1906, she expresses her exasperation with her father, writing that he constantly 'watches' her and that she 'cannot be alone or in the company of women for a half minute'.[96] While Mansfield's father has her best interests in mind, this mistrustful watching over his daughter is a means of asserting control, as well as being a particularly gendered act: it is unlikely he would intrude upon his son's privacy in such a suspicious manner. In 'The Little Governess', the old man's controlling gaze on the governess similarly indicates his position of power over her in visual terms, while Mansfield draws attention to the girl's lack of power and agency by ensuring that her gaze is always interrupted or restricted. As the porter stares at her, the governess avoids his eyes, instead seeking escape by staring at a holiday advertisement on the wall opposite. While she rebels against giving the porter the tip he demands, she still subconsciously sees herself as his inferior, as she is

unable to match his threatening gaze. When she is later the object of the old man's gaze, the governess's shy glances back at him are restricted as she looks through the significantly feminised veil of her eyelashes. Her first view of the old man is also interrupted by her tears, creating a cinematic sense of visual subjectivity that recalls the visual distortions of Frau Brechenmacher, as well as hinting that the old man will cause her as much pain as the other men she has encountered in spite of his kindly appearance. This divide between an uninterrupted, objectifying male gaze and a restricted or mediated female gaze therefore successfully illustrates male power and men's privileged position in society, with women being presented as objects to be enjoyed and controlled by men rather than as people with their own agency and desires.

The second aspect of pleasure attained through the gaze, the ego libido, is also illustrated in 'The Little Governess'. Mulvey suggests that pleasure gained from looking at another person can be symptomatic of the Lacanian division between recognition and misrecognition which relates back to the original moment of subjectivity: when a child recognises its reflection in the mirror for the first time, it experiences both joy at the recognition of the self and alienation as the reflected self appears more complete than the child's body, over which it has not yet gained total control. Mulvey therefore refers to the reflected image as the 'ego ideal',[97] suggesting that this desire for an ideal version of the self is exploited in cinema through the star system, as we identify with the heroes we see onscreen. The notion of a divided sense of self is a theme throughout Mansfield's fiction, often expressed in visual terms through alienation from the reflected image. This occurs in 'The Little Governess' when the governess catches sight of her face in a mirror after her frightening encounter with the porter and reassures her reflection as if it were a child: '"But it's all over now," she said to the mirror face, feeling in some way that it was more frightened than she'.[98] However, as her journey proceeds with no more unpleasant experiences, the governess loses this sense of alienation from her appearance: 'While he was away the little governess looked at herself again in the glass, shook and patted herself with the precise practical care of a girl who is old enough to travel by herself'.[99] The contrast between her initial disconnection and subsequent identification with her reflected image could be read as a visualisation of the governess's journey from childhood to maturity, suggesting that in her journey into the unknown, she has 'found herself', attaining her version of the 'ego ideal'. However, the ending of the story reveals that the governess's realisation is merely subjective, reflecting another of Mansfield's repeated themes, the contrast between public and private selves. The governess's increased self-confidence as she looks in the mirror for a second time allows her to be taken in by her performative public self, yet in reality she is naïve as ever. This false epiphany suggests that the 'ego ideal' is an inherently patriarchal concept. The governess's appearance does not reflect her true character, but rather the ways by which her character has been

moulded by the men around her at different points in the narrative: she appears childlike after being victimised and belittled by the porter, while her later appearance of worldliness is the result of the false sense of self-assuredness she has gained from the old man's flattery. As with Beryl in 'Prelude', Mansfield suggests that women's appearance and behaviour is controlled by men, implying that women must experience a sense of alienation between public and private selves as they do not have the autonomy to control their own actions. Women are therefore unable to seek pleasure through the identification with an 'ideal' version of the self, as this female ego ideal is rarely represented. Returning to Mulvey's cinema example, man is considered the 'default' human character, while the roles of female characters are inextricably linked to his master narrative.

Mansfield's exploration of her female characters' sensations of in-betweenness or liminality is also expressed through the series of visual contrasts in 'The Little Governess'. The duality of the narrative is introduced in the title, as the words 'little' and 'governess' seem at odds with one another, with 'governess' suggesting an experienced and knowledgeable authority figure, while 'little' implies innocence and naivety, a word more associated with a governess's charges. Mansfield visually presents the tension between innocence and experience through her manipulation of light and colour throughout the story, particularly in the contrast between the ladies' cabin and the ship's deck. The soft, pastel colours and gentle light within the ladies' cabin present it as a place of safety for the governess, with the other ladies' feminine activities – caring for their clothes, arranging their hair, knitting – emphasising that the governess's sense of safety is due to this being an exclusively female space. Significantly, this is the only moment in the narrative during which the governess is openly able to 'watch'[100] those around her, suggesting that a pleasurable female gaze is only possible in spaces in which a violent or voyeuristic male gaze is removed. The ladies' cabin scene also visually presents the governess's innocence, with images suggesting that she is a child: she is 'tucked up' by a 'kind stewardess', and her sleep seems almost foetus-like or as if she is in a cradle as 'she smiled and yielded to the warm rocking'.[101] However, this safe, childlike world is abruptly destroyed as the ship arrives in France and the governess makes her way on to the deck. Mansfield's subjective narration effectively illustrates the disorientation of travelling by night and awaking to find oneself in an unfamiliar place, as the deck seems sinister and dangerous with the soft shapes and colours of the ladies' cabin being replaced by 'strange muffled figures' and 'masts and spars of the ship black against a green glittering sky'.[102] The word 'strange' is repeated several times in this sequence, suggesting the governess's lack of experience in such situations, while the description of her moving 'with the sleepy flock'[103] implies that she is a sacrificial lamb, innocent to the dangers that lie ahead. The colour and lighting effects used in both the ladies' cabin and the deck reappear throughout the story, allowing the governess's emotions to be expressed visually through exaggerated images

rather than coherent thought. It is possible to compare the symbolic use of colour in Mansfield's writing to techniques found in other art forms. The soft light and colours and gentle feminine activities in the ladies' cabin suggest Impressionism, with the 'pink-sprigged couch'[104] on which the governess rests reflecting Morisot's *Young Woman Seated on a Sofa* (1879) (*fig. 50*). Morisot was known for painting female subjects in repose, often in private domestic spaces, as discussed in chapter one. By contrast, the sharp, angular worlds of the ship's deck and later the train station are more reminiscent of Expressionist painting, as Mansfield distorts the world around the governess to suggest her subjective perspective. Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's *Potsdamer Platz* (1914) (*fig. 51*) is

Fig. 50: *Young Woman Seated on a Sofa*

Fig. 51: *Potsdamer Platz*

particularly visually similar to the scenes in the train station, as Mansfield describes people's faces being 'painted almost green' in the 'strange light from the station lamps'.[105] The distorted angles of the streets and their sinister inhabitants are also stylistically suggestive of Expressionist film: as John Orr points out, the themes and fears of Weimar cinema were the street and its threatening underclass, a group of worker-slaves who were presented as alternately mechanistic or bestial.[106] The nightmarish industrial space of the shipyard in 'The Little Governess' anticipates the urban dystopia of Fritz Lang's *Metropolis* (1927), while the shambling movements of the porter who snatches the governess's case are suggestive of the villainous Cesare's escape over the rooftops in Robert Weine's *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (1920). The governess's fear of these threatening strangers could also be inspired by Mansfield's own experiences, recounted in a letter to Garnet Trowell in which she describes the streets of London by night: 'dim men and women were clustering in broken groups round the doors of the public houses. From some of the bars came the sound of

horrible laughter. And all of the streets stretching out on every side like the black web of some monstrous spider'.[107]

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V. Cinematic Windows and the Flâneur of the Twentieth Century

While stories like 'The Little Governess' examine the controlling power of the male gaze, the majority of Mansfield's fiction focuses on her characters' subjective impressionisms of the world, and their participation – or lack of participation – in society. Mansfield's repeated motif of windows allows her to examine changing gender roles in early twentieth-century society, as well as the effects of art and cinema on the modern consciousness. Images of characters looking out of windows appear throughout her short stories: Bertha in 'Bliss' watches the pear tree in her garden, attempting to transform it into a symbol of escape from her sensations of entrapment; Beryl in 'Prelude' and 'At the Bay' imagines herself framed in the window as a fairytale princess, waiting to be rescued from her humdrum life; the mother in 'A Married Man's Story' gazes longingly through her sickroom window at the billboards advertising the exotic freedom of the circus. Like the prototypical modernist hero, Mansfield's characters are observers rather than participants in life, and the use of windows to reinforce this image implies that this enforced passivity is a particularly gendered phenomenon. The act of watching the world through the window suggests that in Mansfield's society, women have attained the illusion of freedom, yet a barrier remains in place that prevents them from truly participating in modern life. This metaphor of women and windows is still relevant in the present day, with terms like 'the glass ceiling' being used to describe inequalities in the workplace: while women can see the careers they wish to attain, they are prevented from rising higher than a certain level.

In her study of the use of windows and screens as visual metaphors, Anne Friedberg suggests that this fascination with the window and the scenes it frames is a particularly modern phenomenon. As windows grew in size as glass ceased to be a luxury commodity, their role began to change from a source of light and air to a source of images. Friedberg explores the new visuality of the window, pointing out that

> Glass was a material that featured both transparency and protection, it could keep the outside *out* and at the same time bring it *in*. As the window grew in relation to the wall – shedding its mullions and posts – it became more and more of a permeable interface. Its transparency enforced a two-way model of visuality: by framing a private

> view outward – the "picture" window – and by framing a public view inward – the "display" window.[108]

The idea of the 'display' window can be connected to the Baudelairean concept of the flâneur, providing a new way of viewing one's surroundings in an increasingly urban and commercialised world. The covetous gaze of the flâneur appears throughout modernist texts, from Bloom's wanderings around the streets of Dublin in *Ulysses* to Mrs Dalloway's window shopping as she prepares for her lavish party. The 'display' window also appears as a framing device in film, such as George Pal's adaptation of *The Time Machine* (1960), in which the journey from the Victorian period to the present day is visually depicted through the succession of outfits worn by a mannequin in a shop window, which become more revealing with the passage of time. While the mannequin is not a real person, the time traveller's pleasurable response to this striptease-like scene hints that the culture of the flâneur relates not only to the visual consumption of material goods, but to the consumption of people's privacy and individuality.

Mansfield illustrates the dichotomy between the 'picture' window and the 'display' window in her short story 'Feuille d'Album' (1917). Unusually for Mansfield, the story uses a male protagonist, Ian French, a young artist who fills the role of passive observer as he experiences the world through the windows of his Parisian studio apartment. However, unlike Mansfield's female characters who watch from windows, French spends his time voyeuristically gazing into another person's home, suggesting that the culture of the flâneur is a primarily masculine phenomenon. Like Mansfield's story 'Pictures', the narrative contains frequent references to the visual and framing, as French sees the world in painterly terms, keeping everything in his studio 'arranged to form a pattern, a little "still life" as it were'.[109] The varying perspectives in the story are also characteristically modernist: in *Language of Vision* (1944), Gyorgy Kepes suggests that the modernist 'language of vision' has no one linear perspective, with the new technologies of photography and cinema allowing perspectives other than the frontal to be explored. Kepes argues that the development of cinematic close-up was particularly instrumental in changing perceptions of spatial relationships: 'the "close-up" broke up the transitional continuous space unity inherited through painting and theatre and extended the picture space to an amplified dimension. In a sequence a "close-up", "medium shot" and "long shot" bring a living, moving variety of expanding and condensing space'.[110] In order to understand the new medium of the cinema, viewers were required to engage with a new visual language which involved making leaps of understanding, and continuity editing and establishing shots were developed to guide viewers through a narrative. The first example of continuity editing in film is attributed to Robert William Paul, whose 1898 film *Come Along, Do!* opens with a shot of an elderly couple walking into an art gallery, and then cuts to a shot of the couple inside the building. Film editing

rapidly became more sophisticated, however, demanding more understanding and concentration on the part of the audience, and using multiple perspectives – Friedberg refers to continuity editing as the 'struggle to build a coherent space out of cubist shards'.[111] This cubist interpretation of film narrative is also applicable to changes in modern architecture, with Sigfried Giedion proposing that buildings with multiple windows offer an infinite positionality for spatial relations. Giedion uses the Crystal Palace in London and the Bauhaus building in Dessau (*fig. 52*) as examples, suggesting that the use of glass in these two structures creates an effect of 'dematerialising the corners'. This produces new overlapping spatial planes which are comparable to both cubist painting and cross-cutting in film, allowing a viewer to simultaneously experience action that is occurring in separate spaces and temporalities. In a description of the Bauhaus building, Giedion describes 'the hovering, vertical grouping of planes which satisfies our feeling of a relational space' as well as 'the extensive transparency that permits interior and exterior to be seen simultaneously, *en face* and *en profile*, like Picasso's "L'Arlésienne" [*fig. 53*] of 1911-12: variety of levels of reference, or points of reference, and simultaneity – the conception of space-time, in short'.[112]

Fig. 52: *The Bauhaus Building*


Fig. 53*: L'Arlésienne*

These varied types of vision are presented throughout 'Feuille d'Album', as Mansfield rapidly shifts from French's bird's eye view of the flower market below his window where he observes 'the tops of huge umbrellas with frills of bright flowers escaping from them',[113] to the extreme close-up of the sign by his bed, 'on a level with your eyes when you were lying down', that reads 'GET UP AT ONCE'.[114] Returning to Friedberg's point about the dual nature of modern visuality, her concepts of both the 'picture' and the 'display' windows are illustrated in the story. The larger window in French's studio is an example of a picture window, framing a 'wonderful view'[115] like a painting that features boats, barges and a tree-covered island. However, rather than looking from this window for

inspiration for his paintings, the protagonist prefers the smaller side window which provides a view of the busy streets and the 'smaller and shabbier'[116] house opposite: he is a flâneur of the twentieth century, observing the flow of urban life from a removed, static position. French's valuation of the everyday over beauty and grandeur can be seen as a metaphor for the changes taking place in modern French painting, as artists moved towards realism and snapshot-like scenes of common life in their works.

However, French's observation of the 'shabbier' side of the street also makes his actions appear covert, and here the 'display' window is introduced as French watches a girl framed in one of the windows of the house opposite. Like the interior of the studio, the emergence of the girl is described in painterly terms, as French projects his desires on to her. She first appears on a beautiful spring night, leading him to associate her with natural beauty and rebirth: the shabby building where she lives 'spangles' with raindrops, its normally closed shutters opening like flowers, while the air smells of 'buds and moist earth'.[117] The girl herself seems like a figure from an Impressionist painting, described as a series of bursts of colour, with an armful of yellow daffodils, a pink headscarf and the striking contrast of her white arms which 'shone against the dark stuff'[118] of her pinafore. The sensation of framing and display is emphasised by French's comparison of her opening window to 'wings',[119] also suggesting his projected desire as he seems to view her as a mythical, angelic creature rather than as a person.

French's voyeuristic observation of the girl through the framed aperture of the window also has parallels with the cinema. His static viewing experience is particularly cinematic, as well as the one-sided nature of his observation. She is as unaware of his gaze as an actor onscreen: he wonders if she has noticed him too, and eventually concludes that 'where he sat there might have been a hollow in the air. She simply did not see the house opposite'.[120] Robert D. Romanyshyn suggests that this cinematic detachment from the world is typical of the modern age:

> The condition of the window implies a *boundary* between the perceiver and the perceived. It establishes as a condition for perception a formal *separation* between a subject who sees the world and the world that is seen, and in doing so it sets the stage, as it were, for that retreat or withdrawal of the self from the world which characterises the dawn of the modern age. Ensconced behind the window the self becomes an observing subject, a *spectator*, as against and world which becomes a *spectacle*, an *object* of vision.[121]

In 'Feuille d'Album', this boundary between perceiver and perceived widens as Mansfield reveals that French has little experience with the opposite sex, with most of his ideas about women's lives

coming from romantic novels or possibly the cinema itself: he is confused that the girl does not come to the window to sing, let down her hair, or gaze at the moon, 'as young girls are supposed to do'.[122] The controlling and possessive element of voyeurism is evident here, relating to Romanyshyn's point regarding the objectification of the perceived. French's desire for the girl to perform in a manner determined by him removes her autonomy as a person, suggesting that he sees her only as an object to be consumed. The cinematic framing of the girl in the window enhances his belief that she exists exclusively for his entertainment, as he tells himself he must finish his day's work before 'rewarding' himself by looking at her, just as cinema or more recently television are used as leisure activities. Towards the end of the narrative, Mansfield also explores the virtual mobility of the cinema, writing 'he sat in his dusky studio […] staring in at her window and seeing himself in there with her'.[123] Both the spatial and temporal paradox of the cinema are suggested here, as French is static but 'watches' an imagined version of himself who is physically present in the girl's home, living the future life he has constructed for them both. Friedberg similarly associates the paradox of mobility that cinema provides to the act of window watching, pointing out that 'the moving-image spectator has a bodily presence in material architectural space, yet engages with virtually rendered immaterial space framed on the screen'.[124] The frame in this case is a liminal site between an immobile viewer in the present moment and mobile images from the past seen through the 'window' of the cinema screen – although in French's case he imaginatively views scenes not from the past, but from a projected future. French's 'dusky studio' also has connotations of a darkened cinema: in the words of architect Le Corbusier, the modern home is no longer solely a 'dwelling machine' but also a 'viewing machine'.[125]

Similar voyeuristic window watching appears in works by Mansfield's contemporaries, such as Joyce's 'Araby', a short story from his 1914 collection *Dubliners*. Much like Mansfield's Ian French, the young male protagonist routinely watches his friend's sister in secret: 'Every morning I lay on the floor in the front parlour watching her door. The blind was pulled down to within an inch of the sash so that I could not be seen. When she came out on the doorstep my heart leaped […] I kept her brown figure always in my eye'.[126] Just as French's painterly aspirations shape the way in which he sees the girl at the window, the protagonist of 'Araby' also constructs an image of the girl he watches to correspond to his desires for escape and adventure: his descriptions of the 'soft rope of her hair' and her 'brown figure defined by the light' associate her with the exoticness of the Araby bazaar he longs to attend.

Woolf's fiction features similar scenes of covert window watching, as Helen and Rachel in *The Voyage Out* (1915) secretly gaze into a room 'through a chink in the blind' to watch a group of men

socialising.[127] Much like 'Araby', the scene within the room is presented from the characters' subjective viewpoint, with the narrow apertures through which these spaces are framed recalling a cinematic letterboxing effect. Intradiegetic viewpoints were popular editing techniques in early films, such as *Peeping Tom* (1897), in which cuts occur between medium shots of a hotel clerk in a corridor and shots framed subjectively through keyhole-shaped apertures as he voyeuristically watches the rooms' inhabitants. The intradiegetic nature of the women's vision is similarly emphasised as their view of the room is temporarily obscured by the men's cigar smoke. Woolf also creates a cinematic sensation of displaced temporality in this scene, through an implied flashback to Ridley and Mr Pepper's student days: 'they were in Cambridge, and it was probably about the year 1875'.[128] In addition to illustrating the visual process, Woolf's experiments with restricted vision in *The Voyage Out* allow the theme of female exclusion from male spaces to be explored, in a precursor to Woolf's later discussion of this inequality in *Jacob's Room* (1922) and *A Room of One's Own* (1929). In *A Room of One's Own*, this exclusion is presented explicitly, as Woolf describes being forbidden to enter the libraries of 'Oxbridge' due to her sex, as well as the unevenly weighted provision for female university students in comparison to their male counterparts. However, in *Jacob's Room* this gender divide is evoked in more symbolic visual terms. Alex Zwerdling discusses the means by which Woolf creates emotional distance from her protagonist Jacob, suggesting that the choice to focalize the novel primarily through a narrator who identifies as a woman is significant: 'The narrative voice is that of an older, more experienced, highly sceptical consciousness, determined to puncture youthful illusion and undercut intense feeling of any kind'.[129] Like many of Mansfield's female protagonists, the way in which the narrator visualizes the world is clearly mediated by her sex, with her status as a woman providing the reason behind her frequent lack of omniscience. In a precursor to *A Room of One's Own*, Woolf denies the narrator access to Jacob's life as he studies at Cambridge University, emphasising the patriarchal determination to maintain universities as an exclusively male space. As Jacob socialises with his classmates, Zwerdling suggests that Woolf uses a technique similar to an aerial shot in a film in order to distance the narrator from the action.[130] Just as Helen and Rachel's access to both a visual and auditory experience of the men's conversation was denied in *The Voyage Out*, the narrator is similarly forced to a position of observational distance, attempting to visualize the scene and piece together the young men's conversation from the small fragments she can see and overhear. The window through which the narrator observes the men takes on the role of cinema screen, as the narrator is unable to intervene in the scene or view any more than what the limitations of the frame will allow. She is only able to present us with the action as she sees it rather than being able to provide one definite interpretation of the men's activities, mentioning that 'only gestures of arms, movements of bodies, could be seen

shaping something in the room. Was it an argument? A bet on the boat races? Was it nothing of the sort? What was shaped by the arms and bodies moving in the twilight room?'[131]

Through a comparison of Mansfield, Joyce and Woolf's protagonists, it is notable that voyeuristic observation seems to be an activity that only male characters are able to engage in without restriction. This again relates to the interpretation of cinematic window-watching as a form of twentieth-century flânerie – just like Baudelaire's flâneur, men are free to engage with any space, while women face restrictions regarding who and what they are permitted to gaze upon. A class divide can also be identified in terms of which spaces are available to whom: In Mansfield's 'The Doll's House', Kezia enjoys the omnipotence of unrestricted vision as she gazes into the doll's house, with each room being simultaneously visible. Kezia's initial reaction to the house reveals its unique status, as she wonders 'Why don't all houses open like that? How much more exciting than peering through the slit of a door into a mean little hall […] Perhaps it is the way God opens houses at dead of night'.[132] As a young female child, the doll's house offers Kezia a sensation of power that she lacks in her everyday life. However, as she later discovers, even this limited power comes with restrictions: she invites the Kelvey children to see her new toy, but they are turned away due to their family's low social status, with Kezia's aunt Beryl significantly slamming the doll's house shut.

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VI. 'That creature in the glass': Mirrors and the Beauty Myth in 'Bliss' and 'Pictures'

In addition to its use in modernist fiction, the window as screen or interface was also a common feature in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century painting. Artists of the realist school of painting depicted both windows and mirrors in their works as a means of challenging conventional ways of seeing the world, creating paintings with several layers of depth. The themes of voyeurism and observation are evident in Holman Hunt's *The Awakening Conscience* (1853), the subject of which is a young woman undergoing a change of heart about her role as a married man's mistress (*fig. 53*). The painting features several symbols of the woman's position: the cat playing with the bird and the tangled embroidery threads on the floor create an image of entrapment and predatory sexuality, while the repetition of the scene in the mirror behind the couple implies that their actions are being scrutinized. Mansfield uses similar imagery in her fiction, with seemingly innocuous objects taking on sinister double meaning, like the photographs and medicine bottles in 'Prelude' reminding Linda that she is trapped in her domestic, childbearing role, and consequently also by her poor health as a result of her difficult pregnancies. Mirrors too appear in the majority of the short stories, often prompting characters to contemplate their situations in life. In Hunt's painting, a happy ending to

the narrative is suggested by the open window reflected in the mirror, revealing a glimpse of an Eden-like garden into which the woman gazes. However, Hunt's removal of the garden from the viewer's point of view through the twin lenses of the mirror and window destroys this sense of freedom: to return to Friedberg's term, the painting reveals only a 'virtual window'. Like Mansfield's characters' alienation from their mirror images, Hunt suggests that the freedom depicted in the mirror may not be not real or attainable.

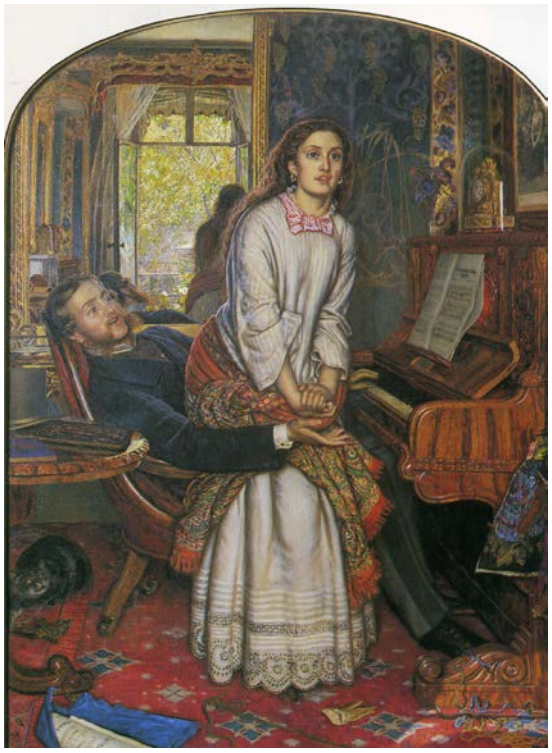


Fig. 54: *The Awakening Conscience*

The use of permeable or reflective surfaces as a means of challenging women's roles can also be connected to Mansfield's examination of duality in her fiction. Mario Praz points out that this fascination with mirroring and duality in the arts predates modernism, relating back to nineteenth-century painting which often featured 'a foreground formed by everyday circumstances, or in any case related to the phenomenal world, serving as a runway for a yearning, a dream, which is projected into a distance full of mystery, a magic beyond: it may only be a vista from a window, or the faraway ship seen by the wrecked sailors of the *Méduse*. The painting falls into two planes'.[133] Praz's term 'projected' to describe imagined realities suggests visual technologies like the magic lantern and the cinema; in magic lantern narratives in particular, inserts were used in everyday scenes to present a dual image of a character and his or her dream or fantasy. In Mansfield's fiction too, such fantastic images are visually integrated into the everyday, with Linda in 'At the Bay' 'seeing' the riverboats in China, a place she is unlikely to ever visit, Miss Moss in 'Pictures' watching the procession of 'Good Hot Dinners' parade across her ceiling, and the protagonist of 'A Dill Pickle'

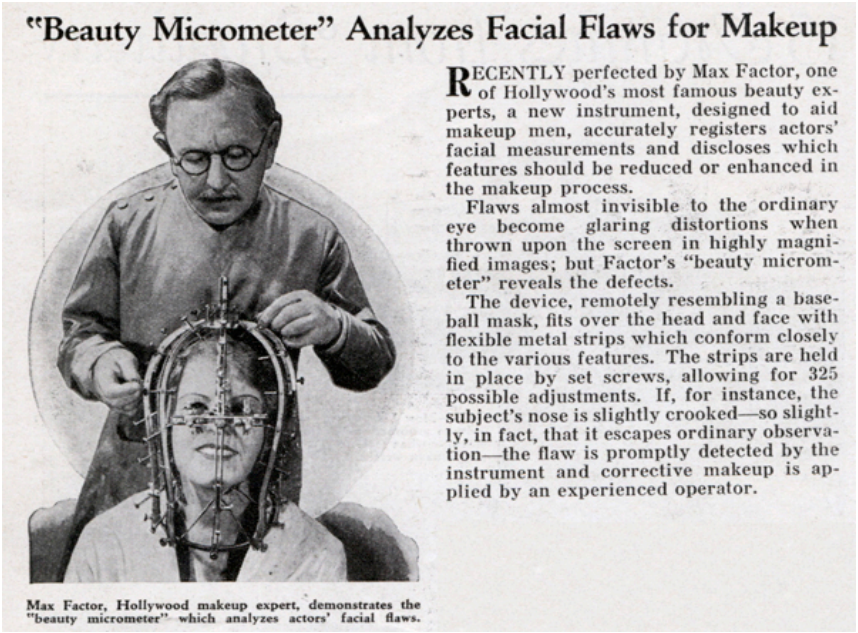
visually transporting herself to Russia, a land she naively envisions in bright, fairytale-like colours. Significantly, these fantasies are all related to escape: the yearning for different lives, or 'the magic beyond', is key to Mansfield's feminist message, as she writes about women who are trapped by their social roles, only transcending their restricted lives in their imaginations.

In Mansfield's short story 'Bliss' this duality between fantasy and reality is particularly apparent. The motifs of both mirrors and windows appear throughout the narrative as a means of indicating that the 'bliss' that Bertha believes she is experiencing is in fact an emotion closer to anxiety or fear, a sensation that she cannot find the words to articulate. Bertha's misinterpretation of her emotions is first illustrated when she looks into the mirror: as in many of Mansfield's works, the mirror is used to indicate the disconnection between public and private selves, representing the dual nature of Bertha's sense of self. Like Beryl in 'Prelude', Bertha is initially taken in by her performative 'public self', assuring herself that the heightened emotions she experiences are positive, an affirmation of her perfect life. However, this fragile constructed persona is undermined by Bertha's disconnection from her reflection in the mirror. She refers to it as 'a woman',[134] suggesting a level of physical maturity that she does not identify with, while the repetition of 'she hardly dared' and the mention of her fear of 'the cold mirror'[135] suggest that at some obscure level she is aware that her life is not as blissful as it may seem. Bertha's precarious domestic situation is also indirectly implied through her repeated references to being trapped or stifled, mentioning being 'shut up in a case like a rare, rare fiddle', as well as throwing off her coat because she cannot 'bear the tight clasp of it another moment'.[136]

The combination of these images of being shut away and Bertha's fearful examination of her reflection suggest that the true reason behind her powerful emotions is her fear of ageing and being considered useless. Mansfield repeatedly uses older, unmarried women as the protagonists of her stories – most notably in 'Pictures', 'Miss Brill' and 'The Daughters of the Late Colonel' – as a means of drawing attention to the sexism inherent in her society, illustrating that a woman's social 'worth' is determined only by her appearance or by her relationship to the men in her life. The devaluation of women who have lost their youthful beauty without achieving their expected social roles of marriage and motherhood reveals that in Mansfield's society, women are valued not as people but as objects for the use of men. In 'Bliss' Bertha is neither old nor unmarried, yet the opening sentence of the story mentions that she is thirty years old – an age with notoriously negative implications for women in particular – suggesting that growing old is preying on Bertha's mind, with her 'bliss' in reality being desperation as she attempts to cling to youthfulness. Mark Pendergrast contends that the development of cinema in the early twentieth century led to a surge of aggressive promotional campaigns designed to prey upon women's insecurities. Alongside the rise of Hollywood's star

system came a series of increasingly unrealistic beauty standards that women were expected to pour endless time, energy and money into adhering to. The most popular makeup brands were those that were advertised as being the favourites of famous actresses, such as Max Factor, a brand originally developed for film lighting that became popular with the public following endorsements by stars like Clara Bow, Jean Harlow and Joan Crawford. Significantly, cosmetics adverts frequently used images of mirrors and reflective surfaces, reminding women that they were subject to an appraising and critical gaze in an attempt to encourage them to spend. As Pendergrast points out,

> A typical advertising come-on asked, "DO YOU ANXIOUSLY CONSULT STORE WINDOWS AND VANITY CASES AT EVERY OPPORTUNITY?" The mirrors, movie cameras, and bystanders that appeared in many such advertisements reminded women that they were constantly being scrutinized. "DO YOU YEARN FOR A CLEAR COMPLEXION?" a soap ad asked. In the illustration, a woman holding a hand mirror peers into her dressing-table mirror, which shows not her but a fantasy couple gazing at one another adoringly.[137]



"Beauty Micrometer" Analyzes Facial Flaws for Makeup

RECENTLY perfected by Max Factor, one of Hollywood's most famous beauty experts, a new instrument, designed to aid makeup men, accurately registers actors' facial measurements and discloses which features should be reduced or enhanced in the makeup process.

Flaws almost invisible to the ordinary eye become glaring distortions when thrown upon the screen in highly magnified images; but Factor's "beauty micrometer" reveals the defects.

The device, remotely resembling a baseball mask, fits over the head and face with flexible metal strips which conform closely to the various features. The strips are held in place by set screws, allowing for 325 possible adjustments. If, for instance, the subject's nose is slightly crooked—so slightly, in fact, that it escapes ordinary observation—the flaw is promptly detected by the instrument and corrective makeup is applied by an experienced operator.

Max Factor, Hollywood makeup expert, demonstrates the "beauty micrometer" which analyzes actors' facial flaws.

Fig. 55: *"Beauty Micrometer" Analyzes Facial Flaws for Makeup*

As adverts like this suggest, the ultimate goal for a woman is to be youthful and beautiful enough to attract a man, with Bertha's compulsive checking of her appearance in 'Bliss' revealing her desperation to remain within these socially acceptable parameters. Close-ups in film fulfilled a similar role, with the disproportionate focus on female faces allowing them to be examined in microscopic detail, leading to Max Factor's development of the 'beauty micrometer', (fig. 55) a sinister-looking device that allowed almost imperceptible facial imperfections to be identified and 'corrected'. Like Pendergrast, Lant and Periz interpret the cinema as a form of mirror, stating that 'cinema was a medium haunted by the image of the mirror, with its camera's peering intrusiveness

into detail; in all of film's vocabulary, the close-up was the figure most reminiscent of the mirror for the female actress (as we might also image it was for women filmgoers)'.[138] Much like Bertha and her younger and more attractive rival Pearl Fulton, women in the film industry were ruthlessly replaced when their appearances failed to withstand such close scrutinization, a narrative that is explored in Billy Wilder's *Sunset Boulevard* (1950), as ageing silent film star Norma Desmond becomes obsessed with images of herself in her 'prime'. The film's iconic closing scene provides a critique of an industry with no place for older women, as Norma delusionally believes she has returned to the past, emerging from her room to deliver the chilling line 'All right, Mr. DeMille, I'm ready for my close-up'.

The film industry's role in the social valuation of youth and beauty is also confronted in 'Pictures', which follows a former music-hall singer, Miss Moss, as she attempts to find work in the movies. Miss Moss is neither young nor conventionally attractive, and is thus alternately ignored or mocked by those around her. One of the 'pictures' that Mansfield explores in the story is self-image, and the disconnection between physical and interior selves. The tension between these two aspects of the self is again explored visually through a character's uncanny sense of disconnection from their reflection in a mirror, as in 'Bliss' as well as 'Prelude' with Beryl's disgust at the insincerity of her 'false self'.[139] Mansfield uses this sense of duality to again emphasise the harmfulness of equating 'worth' with appearance, as Miss Moss's tragedy is that her appearance does not match her ambitions: her aspirations to be part of an industry obsessed with the visual are doomed because she will never look the part, as explored in chapter two. Her disconnection from her physical self is emphasised as she refers to her reflection as 'the person in the glass' and 'a stout lady in blue serge'.[140] Although at first she seems to carry the signifiers of a glamorous movie star, like a hat covered in 'purple pansies' and a 'vanity bag',[141] these are revealed to be merely props; the flowers are cheap and artificial, and the vanity bag holds no cosmetics but only the meagre sum of 'one and three'.[142] As Smith points out, 'the alienation from the self, and the desperate attempt to inhabit the image that she is trying to present, which is itself pathetically at odds with the glamour required for the movies, are evident from the writer's presentation of her anonymous picture'.[143] Towards the end of the narrative as Miss Moss becomes increasingly desperate, her treacherous appearance appears to be mocking her: 'the person in the pocket mirror made a hideous face at her, and that was too much for Miss Moss; she had a good cry'.[144] This unusual visual effect has parallels with early trick film, with characters seeing their reflections in the mirror take on a life of their own. The gradual transformation of Miss Moss's face throughout the narrative reflects the original cinematic adaptation of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* in 1910, in which Doctor Frankenstein looks into the mirror only to see the monster gazing back at him (fig. 56). The sensation of dread and disconnection

that Mansfield's protagonists' experience in front of the mirror suggests that they too have been conditioned to see themselves as monstrous, placing the blame on themselves for not meeting imposed requirements rather than being able to acknowledge that these requirements are impossible.

Fig. 56: *Frankenstein*

In her creation of visually multifaceted characters, Mansfield was possibly inspired by Woolf's 'The Mark on the Wall', which she reviewed in 1916. In this essay, Woolf questions the relationship between identity, appearance and actions, referring to the part of the self that is revealed to others as 'that shell of a person',[145] and asserting that if people only amount to what is seen by others, 'what an airless, shallow, bald, prominent world it becomes!'[146] One of the conclusions that Woolf reaches in 'The Mark' is that writers should not waste time with trying to describe the physicalities of reality in minute detail, but rather attempt to capture these multiple images of their characters, as 'there is not one reflection but an almost infinite number'.[147] Woolf was later to explore this Cubist belief in her fiction, particularly in the scene towards the end of *Orlando* (1928) when Orlando simultaneously sees all the people she is and has ever been. In Mansfield's 'A Married Man's Story', she expands upon Woolf's description of the self as seen by others as a 'shell of a person', as her protagonist describes 'this sensation… of how extraordinarily *shell-like* we are as we are – little creatures, peering out of the sentry-box at the gate, ogling through the glass case at the entry, wan little servants, who can never say for certain, even, if the master is out or in…'[148] The defamiliarisation of the self here takes on an almost science-fiction quality, reflecting stories like H. G. Wells's 'The Plattner Story' (1896), which deals with a similar out-of-body experience. The weak and pathetic image of our inner selves as well as the word 'servants' emphasises Mansfield's belief

that people are completely under the power of social convention, afraid to reveal anything other than the artificially constructed facet of their selves.

Returning to 'Pictures', the disparity between Miss Moss's desired and marketable image of herself and how she appears in reality is also apparent in her varied perceptions of the world around her, with the setting of the narrative being cinematically altered in order to express Miss Moss's emotions in visual terms. As she walks to town with the threat of eviction hanging over her, the streets are described in surreal and expressionistic terms: the world has become dull and colourless, with everything seeming 'grey' and brown', while all of the sounds of the city are eerie, from the milk boy's 'strange, hawking cry' to the discordant 'jangle of the cans'.[149] Smith also points out that Miss Moss's perception of the people around her as 'grey crabs' is a reference to Eliot's 'The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock' (1917), in which the derelict appearance of the city and its inhabitants reflects the human condition.[150] Miss Moss's dark visions are also interspersed with happier fantasies, as she imagines scenarios where she is rescued by 'a dark handsome gentleman in a fur coat',[151] a cliché that is directly lifted from the plots of the romantic films in which she attempts to get a part. However, the reality of what happens in the Café de Madrid is far removed from this 'Hollywood' ending, as the man she encounters is a less glamorous figure – 'a very stout gentleman wearing a very small hat that floated on the top of his head like a little yacht'[152] – who values her not for her voice and talent but for her body. Ironically, it seems that Miss Moss has eventually obtained a part: her surprise at hearing herself give 'a loud snigger'[153] at the man's lewd comment suggests she has already left behind her old persona as an educated woman with a respectable career and assumed her new role as prostitute. As with the majority of Mansfield's stories, 'Pictures' is a critique of the expectations placed upon women to act 'parts' prescribed to them by a patriarchal society.

In addition to the fixation with women's youth and beauty, Mansfield also uses Bertha's character in 'Bliss' to interrogate women's perceived social responsibilities. While Bertha is both a wife and a mother, the fear she suppresses is also due to her subconscious belief that she has failed in both of these roles. Like Mansfield herself, Bertha's sexuality is uncertain, and while she experiences an unspoken erotic connection with women in her life like Pearl Fulton, she is repulsed by male sexual desire. She interprets Harry's embrace of Pearl as threatening and predatory: he turns Pearl 'violently to him' and as he looks at her 'his nostrils quivered; his lips curled back in a hideous grin'.[154] Although Bertha assures herself that she and Harry are both happy with the sexless nature of their relationship, her sense of failure and inauthenticity as a wife pervades the narrative, as she repeatedly asserts that she and Harry are 'such good pals' and tells herself that it is 'the best of being modern',[155] while uncomfortably ignoring any suggestion of his desire until it is explicitly

presented to her at the end of the narrative when she discovers his affair with Pearl. As well as her sense of disassociation from her reflection at the outset of the narrative, her fear of her fading beauty is implied through her reaction to Harry's rude generalisations about beautiful blonde women like Pearl: 'For some strange reason Bertha liked this, and almost admired it in him very much'.[156] Again, Mansfield's free indirect discourse allows the narrative to operate on two levels, as it is clear that Bertha's insecurities about her appearance are diminished by Harry's jokes, although the words 'for some strange reason' reveal that she refuses to articulate her fears of Harry's potential infidelity even to herself.

Bertha's sense of failure is also due to her belief that she has not fulfilled her expected childbearing role, as their years of marriage have resulted only in a single daughter. Harry does not attempt to disguise his lack of interest in 'Little B', thinking of her only in terms of her future relations with men: he tells the party guests 'don't ask me about my baby… I shan't feel the slightest interest in her until she has a lover'.[157] This devaluation of female children is also a theme in 'Prelude', with Stanley looking longingly at the head of the table where 'his boy' should be yet making no effort to connect with his three daughters, as well as in 'At the Bay', when the new baby boy is the only child whom Linda does not view with indifference and resentment. It is possible that Mansfield experienced this belief that male children are worth more than female children in her own family life: she grew up with three sisters, and although her mother was still young when she gave birth to Mansfield's brother, she considered her childbearing duties over once she had provided her husband with a boy.[158]

While the fragility of Bertha's 'bliss' is initially illustrated by her gaze into the mirror, Mansfield also uses the motif of the window as a means of suggesting that Bertha feels trapped by her age and sex, part of the world but also significantly apart from it. During what Bertha believes to be her moment of spiritual connection with Pearl, the windows in the room are open, placing the two women in the same world as the pear tree, an eroticised symbol of life that seems to 'stretch up, to point, to quiver in the bright air, to grow taller and taller as they gazed – almost to touch the rim of the round, silver moon'.[159] However, once Bertha discovers the truth about Harry's affair with Pearl, she realises the falsity of her connection with both Pearl and the tree, as unlike them, her youthful bloom has passed. The story ends with Bertha running back to 'the long windows',[160] which significantly are now closed, suggesting a cage-like barrier that separates Bertha from the tree and the life it stands for. As she gazes upon it, her last thought is that it is 'as lovely as ever and as full of flower',[161] suggesting that she has realised the restrictions of her gender: in its beauty and fertility, the tree embodies the qualities that would have gained her respect and social acceptance, qualities that for Bertha are now fading.

The use of windows to illustrate women's separation from the world also appears throughout Woolf's fiction, in particular *Mrs Dalloway* (1925). Clarissa Dalloway herself can be read as an older counterpart for Bertha, as she has a single female child who, like Little B with her nanny, regards another woman as her mother figure. Similarly, she also believes that she is a disappointment to her husband, as they have rarely been sexually intimate. Like Bertha, Clarissa fears what she refers to as her 'coldness': Woolf writes 'she could not dispel a virginity preserved through childbirth which clung to her like a sheet', and 'through some contraction of this cold spirit, she had failed him'.[162] As in 'Bliss', Woolf's protagonist constantly fluctuates between sensations of joy and of thinly-veiled fear. Her preoccupation with ageing is made even more apparent through the domineering presence of Big Ben, whose chimes constantly transect the narrative. However, it is through Woolf's image of Clarissa at the window that this sensation of being cast aside is most apparent. Like Praz's description of 'the magic beyond', Clarissa sees the life and beauty of the outside world as unattainable, a life from which she is forever removed due to her age and sex. She sees herself as

> A single figure against the appalling night, or rather, to be accurate, against the stare of this matter-of-fact June morning; soft with the glow of rose petals for some, she knew, and felt it, as she paused by the open staircase window which let in blinds flapping, dogs barking, let in, she thought, feeling herself suddenly shrivelled, aged, breastless, the grinding, blowing, flowering of the day, out of doors, out of the window, out of her body and brain which now failed.[163]

Just as Bertha experiences a false sense of connection with the pear tree, Clarissa realises that her previous 'epiphany' about the connection between all living things as 'buds on the tree of life'[164] was false: as an older woman, she is no longer included in life, only being free to observe through the lens of the window. The plaintive repetition of the word 'out' creates a sensation of enclosure, emphasising Clarissa's desire for a physical and imaginative escape, a route that is taken at the end of the narrative by Clarissa's counterpart Septimus as he jumps from the window rather than remain in a world in which he has no place.

While Mansfield uses images of mirrors to suggest the possibilities of the self, similarly significant objects appear throughout her stories as symbols of her characters' struggles to define themselves. Nancy Gray claims that Mansfield attributes an 'animate presence' to these objects as a means of emphasising their connection to the identities of her characters.[165] An example of such an animate object is the bunch of violets in one of Mansfield's earlier stories, 'The Tiredness of Rosabel' (1908). Mansfield uses the violets to illustrate the discrepancies between Rosabel's everyday life and the rich fantasy world that she imaginatively inhabits, as the small bunch of flowers that she can only

afford to buy if she forsakes her evening meal appear to transform into 'great sprays of Parma violets'[166] that are bought for her by her rich lover. Gray writes that in the story, 'objects appear in contrasting contexts to reveal [Rosabel's] vulnerability to the seductions of cultural fairy tales, in a state of tension with reality and the class boundaries that narrowly circumscribe her options'.[167]

In addition to her reliance on significant objects, Mansfield also makes use of other visual effects in 'The Tiredness of Rosabel', presenting Rosabel's fantasies in cinematic terms as a means of revealing her subconscious desires. As in the majority of Mansfield's works, the events of the narrative are focalized through the protagonist's subjective point of view, with Rosabel's interpretations of the world around her allowing her character to be developed. Her romantic idealism and the theme of dual identities are introduced as she takes the bus home from the hat shop where she works, seeing the other shops that the bus passes as 'fairy palaces' with windows of 'opal and silver'[168] in the evening light. While she watches this charming scene, however, she is unable to escape the consciousness that the hem of her skirt is coated in 'black, greasy mud', and the air inside the bus is full of the 'sickening smell of warm humanity'.[169] Rosabel's glimpses of what she interprets as a better world while she is trapped in a stifling and unglamorous reality is particularly cinematic, as she gazes through the screen-like window of the bus, through which lighting effects transform the everyday. Mansfield also draws attention to the subjectivity of the mobilized gaze, as the streets as seen from the moving bus are described as 'blurred'.[170] However, it is possible that Mansfield also uses this visual distortion to emphasise Rosabel's poverty and titular 'tiredness', as the description of the blurred streets occurs after her longing thoughts of a substantial meal, implying that she is lightheaded with hunger. Similar subjective effects occur in the story to illustrate Rosabel's sense of being trapped and observed: after reading a sensual scene in the book held by the girl next to her on the bus, she is ashamed by her arousal, suddenly feeling as if she is being scrutinized. Mansfield uses a surreal, transformative effect to illustrate her character's discomfort: 'through her half-closed eyes the whole row of people on the opposite seat seemed to resolve into one fatuous, staring face'.[171] Similar surreal visual effects appear elsewhere in Mansfield's fiction: much like Rosabel, the protagonist of 'The Child-Who-Was-Tired' sees the people around her appear to transform as her exhaustion begins to make her hallucinate. Her master and mistress 'swell to an immense size' and then become 'smaller than dolls', while the baby suddenly grows a second head, and then loses its head entirely, foreshadowing its eventual fate.[172] This visual transformation is suggestive of the techniques of expressionist film, in which close ups of eyes and faces are nightmarishly superimposed over each other in order to illustrate a character's distress. Mansfield's characters' subjective vision particularly anticipates films like F. W. Murnau's *Der letzte Mann* (1924), in which the protagonist's sensation of shame when he loses his job is illustrated as the faces of everyone

around him become large and monstrous, combining together to cruelly mock him (fig. 57). The potential connections between literature and German Expressionist film were also explored by Mansfield's contemporaries, such as Barry, who wrote that *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* 'was frankly futurist and achieved in pictures what Poe did in words'.[173]

Fig. 57: *Der letzte Mann*

'The Tiredness of Rosabel' is also one of the earliest examples of Mansfield's stories to feature the image of a woman at a window, as once Rosabel returns home, she remains static for the remainder of the narrative, gazing from the window and entering her fantasy world. The first of her imagined visions involves an immersive flashback to earlier in the day, as she recalls serving an attractive, upper class young couple at her place of work. The hat in this scene is another of Mansfield's significant objects, representing the class divisions that separate Rosabel from the life she desires, as discussed in chapter one. Hats similarly appear as a visual metaphor for social order in 'The Garden Party': a hat is gifted to Laura as a means of silencing her questioning about social inequality, while later the hat prevents Laura from truly connecting with the poor family she visits, with her sympathy turning to shame as she remembers how she looks and how removed from their experiences she must seem – 'Laura gave a loud childish sob. "Forgive my hat," she said'.[174] Although Rosabel does not fully comprehend the 'sudden ridiculous feeling of anger'[175] that grips her when her wealthy customer insists that Rosabel should try on the expensive hat, it is possibly due to the fact that the hat is representative of the life she desperately desires, but is unable to attain. Mansfield also uses the window to illustrate Rosabel's social position, as the theme of the glass ceiling returns: she marvels that there is 'just one little sheet of glass between her and the great, wet world outside',[176]

suggesting that although she is surrounded by the people she aspires to be like in her place of work, she will never be able to pass through the invisible barrier that prevents her from being accepted by them. The most cinematically immersive of Rosabel's imaginings occurs after her memory of serving the couple, as this scene merges with the narrative from the girl's book on the bus, creating a romantic scenario in which Rosabel is the heroine. Mansfield uses a technique similar to crosscutting in film to fluctuate between fantasy and reality, with Rosabel's real-life actions being presented in brackets, positioning them as visually separate from the rest of the narrative and raising the question of whether Rosabel's fabricated reality is in some sense more real than her everyday life. Towards the end of her luxurious vision, the boundary between the two worlds begins to collapse as her imagined self is repeatedly referred to as 'tired',[177] although this is due to her whirlwind life of important social events, an extreme contrast to the real Rosabel's exhaustion which is the result of serving the needs of the class of people she longs to be.

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Through an examination of Mansfield and her female contemporaries' reactions to the cinema, it is possible to argue that early cinema had a role to play in women's emancipation, representing a public space into which they were free to venture as well as a medium with which they could engage both critically and creatively. The imaginative impact of motion picture technology is apparent throughout Mansfield's writing, as she references the cinema in her work both explicitly, in stories like 'Pictures', and implicitly, through her use of a variety of experimental visual effects. Mansfield's affinity with the cinema can be related to her desire to focus on small, everyday moment, as she explores the ways in which 'emotion is stirred by the simplest things', in the words of Barry.[178] Mansfield's cinematic writing style can be related to her desire to establish a new literary voice, as she informs Murry that an irrevocably altered, post-War world required a new language in which events that are unable to be described in words are confronted through visual metaphor. In her search for a way to describe these 'deserts of vast eternity', Mansfield draws attention to the complacency inherent in literary works by her male contemporaries, implying that their ability to 'pick up the old threads as tho' it had never been' is the result of their desire to maintain a dominant social position, informing their readers how to think and feel.[179]

Mansfield also turns to the visual in her fiction as a means of subjectively illustrating a character's experiences, as they often lack the language with which to articulate their emotions. Affinities with the transformative qualities of surrealist cinema are apparent in 'At the Bay', while time-lapse and object animation are used in 'Vignettes'. These cinematic effects also allow Mansfield to indirectly confront controversial topics, as characters in both of these narratives experience confusion over

their sexualities, as well as the desire to escape from the restrictive, domestic spaces in which they are confined. A cinematic treatment of space is also evident in 'Feuille d'Album', which can be read in terms of Freidberg's concepts of the 'picture' window and the 'display' window: Ian French's voyeuristic gaze into his neighbour's window is comparable to a cinemagoing experience, as he simultaneously 'sees' the present moment and visions of a projected future. Mansfield explores the effects of the male gaze in a variety of her works, such as 'The Little Governess', revealing the psychological impact of objectification. In this story, the visual is used as a means of control, as the governess is both sexualised and belittled by the men she encounters on her journey. Observation and control also relate to the visual motif of mirrors throughout Mansfield's fiction, and the use of mirrors in 'Bliss' and 'Pictures' are comparable to the role of the mirror in film: a reminder of the extent to which women are valued only for their youth and beauty.

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Conclusion: 'The impression was that you enjoyed the story, *saw* it as I did'

The period of high modernism in which Mansfield was writing was a turning point not only for literature, but for the visual arts, as every form of representation shifted in response to a rapidly modernising world. In a letter to her brother-in-law Richard Murry written soon after the Great War, perhaps the most significant upheaval of the twentieth century, Mansfield states

> Here is painting, and here is life. We can't separate them. Both of them have suffered an upheaval extraordinary in the last few years. There is a kind of tremendous agitation going on still […] I believe the only way to *live* as artists under these new conditions in art and life is to put everything to the test for ourselves. We've got, in the long run, to be our own teachers […] not only to face things, but really to find out of what they are composed. How can we know where we are, otherwise?[1]

As Mansfield points out, previous conventions in literature and art were no longer sustainable in a society that was irrevocably changed, both by the psychological impact of the War, as well as the shift that was beginning to take place in human understanding, as rapid innovations in science and technology altered our perception of the world. As a means of making sense of this fast-paced and often bewildering modern world, therefore, Mansfield suggests a turn towards the visual, as she wishes to understand her surroundings and experiences through observation. Julie Wosk refers to this cultural shift as 'breaking frame', with rapid industrial growth in nineteenth century Britain and America leading to sensations of fracture and trauma, with the artworks of the period reflecting this unease. Wosk sees the modernist period as a transitory stage in human history, suggesting that '"breaking frame" can be seen as a liminal state, removing the subject from the normal parameters of understanding towards something more uncanny, in the Freudian sense of "familiar made strange"'.[2] Both this sense of defamiliarisation and Mansfield's comment that we must 'be our own teachers' anticipate Spiegel's argument: according to Spiegel, the modern concretized narrative was the result of a loss of blind, theological faith in light of new scientific discoveries and devastating large-scale conflicts, leaving behind a world that could only be understood in sensory terms. Spiegel argues that the loss of the voice of a human narrator in the modern novel reveals the fear that one's personal truth may only be a partial truth, with the modern narrative voice being one of documentation, 'the sound of the action revealing itself *by* itself'.[3] In an uncertain world, therefore, a new form of narrative is required, in which action is subjectively mediated through the perspective of a character.

However, as I have argued throughout this thesis, what Spiegel fails to acknowledge is the particular significance of this visual consciousness in fiction written by women. If we interpret the experimental qualities of modernist fiction as an attempt to transcend outdated beliefs and modes of interpretation, it follows that women writers – and other traditionally marginalised groups – would be particularly invested in this rejection of male-established literary conventions. What the majority of Mansfield's characters have in common is an unspoken sense of dissatisfaction. For characters like Linda Burnell, trapped in an endless cycle of pregnancy, childbirth and providing emotional support for her husband, or the daughters of the late colonel, shunned and considered useless by those around them because of their failure to fulfil this traditional role, this dissatisfaction is immediately evident throughout the text. However, for others like the charming and beautiful Laura Sheridan or successful wife, mother and hostess Bertha Young, this discontent is less obvious, only revealed at moments of crisis which 'break the frame' of their everyday existence. In spite of their varied backgrounds and experiences, all of these women are held by what Mansfield refers to as 'the self-fashioned chains of slavery': at some level, they feel trapped by the restrictiveness of the patriarchal society in which they live, but they are unable to challenge their situations as they lack the sufficient words, education and respect – both self-respect and the respect of others – in order to fight for change.[4] As Mansfield subjectively focalises her narratives through the eyes of her characters, she faces similar restrictions, mediating her characters' experiences through a language that often fails them. In light of this failure of language, therefore, Mansfield's focus on the visual in her fiction can be read as a feminist act, allowing the challenges, restrictions and abuse faced by women in her society to be expressed in images rather than words.

In her fiction, Mansfield draws on a variety of different media in order to create a visually conscious writing style. Mansfield's personal writing reveals a particular fascination with Impressionist painting, which she describes as 'the real thing' and 'what one is aiming at'.[5] My discussion of Mansfield and art established the stylistic connections between word and image in Mansfield's work, opening with a reading of 'Miss Brill' as a form of literary Impressionism. Parallels can also be drawn between Mansfield's writing and specific paintings, as I argued that spatial dynamics in both painting and literature by women are different from those in the works of men. This is the result of women's lack of freedom to navigate public space, but it can also be read as an intentional statement, as women visually indicate 'not the boundary between public and private but between the spaces of masculinity and of femininity', in the words of Pollock.[6] Representations of women in public spaces do exist in both art and fiction, yet these women are denied the personhood and freedom of their male counterparts, being subject to far stricter codes of behaviour as well as an objectifying male gaze. Mansfield effectively illustrates these spatial dynamics in stories like 'Frau

Brechenmacher Attends a Wedding' and 'At the Bay', revealing the performative nature of women's identities in public space as a visual contrast to the confined yet safer space of the domestic. Explorations of class dynamics and consumerism are also common to Mansfield's writing and Impressionist painting, and I have argued that Mansfield's investigation of the ways in which working class women are objectified is comparable to depictions of women in artworks of the period. While paintings by male artists like Degas and Tissot depict women as the props of urban consumer culture, many of the works of the female Impressionists like Gonzalès present a more humanised interpretation of their subjects: like Mansfield's characters, these women are people rather than objects to be consumed.

As I have discussed in chapter two, this gender divide is also apparent in studies of the impact of photography on modern thought. While theorists like Barthes reveal that the perceived 'truth function' of the photograph is a myth, Barthes – much like Spiegel – fails to account for women's experience in his study, with the loss of authenticity while under observation being part of women's everyday experience in public space. Mansfield engaged with photography in a variety of interesting ways in her writing, examining photography as a form of virtual transportation, the relationship between photography, memory and death, and also the power of the photograph to engender desire. Barthes' concepts of the photographic 'studium' and 'punctum' are particularly relevant to Mansfield's photographic exchanges with Francis Carco: receiving Carco's photograph makes Mansfield's 'whole body go out to him as if the sun had suddenly filled a room', while the photograph she sends in return prompts the invitation that sets the events described in 'An Indiscreet Journey' in motion.[7] I have suggested that the relationship between images and ownership is also called into question by this exchange, with the photograph acting as a form of possession and an invitation to command. Similarly, this chapter also explored the role of the photograph as a means of enforcing dominant ideologies, 'allow[ing] the connotative meaning of a particular thing or image to appear to be denotative, literal, or natural', in the words of Sturken and Cartwright.[8] Photographs are used in this context in 'At the Bay', as Mansfield illustrates stereotypes of the working classes as well as interrogating the institution of marriage.

In addition to photography and modern art, my third chapter proposed that new high-speed forms of transport were also influential for the visual consciousness of modernist fiction. Léger asserted that 'it is certain that the evolution of means of locomotion, and their speed, have something to do with the new way of seeing', and this fascination with both the visuality and the liminal qualities of the journey are frequently explored in Mansfield's writing.[9] I have argued that the cinematic visual effects that appear in stories like 'An Indiscreet Journey' and 'The Little Governess' were influenced by forms of entertainment like the phantom ride, capitalising on the popularity of the virtual voyage.

Friedberg's concept of 'the mobilized virtual gaze' is also evident in these works, as Mansfield subjectively recreates the visual distortions of travelling at high speed.[10] This chapter also briefly returned to a discussion of Impressionism, considering the influence of transport technologies on Impressionist art's unstable spatial coordinates. In Schivelbusch's *The Railway Journey*, he argues that rail travel altered cultural perceptions of time and space, as the world was simultaneously expanded and compressed by these new technologies.[11] I have applied this new understanding of space-time to Mansfield's fiction, examining her use of immersive visual flashback and temporal distortion. Mansfield also uses the railway journey as a metaphor for social change, and I argued that the liminal quality of the journey creates a dual space, giving rise to existential questioning. I have suggested that this sense of duality is particularly relevant to women's writing and experiences, as women writers partake in 'border crossing' between 'masculine' and 'feminine' literary subjects, focusing on exclusion and marginality. In both 'Je ne parle pas français' and 'An Indiscreet Journey', this liminal state is explored, as characters struggle to find an authentic and meaningful existence in a society that is constantly in flux.

My fourth chapter provided a history of various forms of pre-cinematic visual media, considering the influence of these on Mansfield's writing. Taking Littau's claim that 'cinematicity […] is the conjunction of movement and vision regardless of the medium in which these figure' as a starting point, I have discussed the ways in which Mansfield uses a variety of innovative visual effects in order to reveal her characters' emotions in images rather than words.[12] The concept of cinematicity can be connected to the fast pace of both modern life and modern fiction, as the latter became increasingly fragmented and rapidly produced. Through a comparison of Gilman and Mansfield, it is possible to identify connections between the ways in which both authors tackle controversial subjects, such as women's mental health and unequal power dynamics between husbands and wives. I have argued that the visual effects used in Gilman's 'The Yellow Wall-Paper' and Mansfield's 'Prelude' share affinities with magic lantern shows, in particular the phantasmagoria, as gothic, projection-like effects are used in order to visualise a character's troubled mental state. Both the magic lantern and the diorama are similarly invoked in stories like 'Vignette: Summer in Winter', in which projected shadows and time-lapse-like transformations suggest the protagonist's desire and subsequent guilt. Through a discussion of Gunning's concept of 'the cinema of attractions', I examined a variety of interesting visual effects in 'A Married Man's Story', from cinematic dissolves to immersive flashbacks. As in many of Mansfield's short stories, these innovative visuals are a means of drawing attention to her characters' internal conflicts, as their insufficient language and failed attempts to communicate lead them to seek an imaginative escape.

My discussion of pre-cinematic technologies continued in chapter five, with particular focus on the moving panorama, a less well-documented yet culturally significant form of nineteenth-century visual entertainment. Drawing on Huhtamo and Colligan's studies, I traced the history of the medium from its inception as an immersive gallery-like display to its development into a travelling motion-picture attraction, focusing on the panorama's cultural impact in Australia and New Zealand. With reference to Huhtamo's concept of the 'discursive panorama', I have examined the ways in which the panorama 'contributed to the formation of the media-cultural imaginary'.[13] I discussed the panorama as a form of virtual voyaging, returning to my arguments in chapter three in order to draw attention to the medium's spatial and temporal distortions. The panorama can also be related to Mansfield's experiences through its impact on colonial perceptions of 'homeland', a theme that is visually explored in stories like 'In the Botanical Gardens' as the uneasy relationship between the performative, pakeha self and the Maori Other is illustrated. Both the perceptual experience of travel and an interrogation of women's roles appear in 'It was neither light nor dark in the cabin', in which Mansfield uses a variety of panoramic visual effects as a means of illustrating her protagonist's physical and mental journey. Finally, I have argued that Mansfield's desire to 'become' the characters she writes about shares affinities with the cyclorama, a form of entertainment that provided its viewers with an immersive visual space.

In examining the relationship between Mansfield and the cinema in my final chapter, I contended that the cinema was the most important innovation in modernist visual culture. With close reference to Lant's *Red Velvet Seat* and Hankins' essay 'Cinéastes and Modernists', I have been able to provide a study of women's engagement with early cinema, as they embraced 'a form of entertainment which was peculiarly their own', as asserted by actress Alma Taylor.[14] There are multiple reasons behind this perceived affinity between women and cinema, from the allure of a public space free from a threatening male gaze – 'the chance to relax unseen', in the words of early film critic Caroline Alice Lejeune – to the fact that the cinema represented a medium with which women could engage critically and academically, as it had not yet been claimed by an upper-class male cultural elite.[15] Mansfield herself admired the cinema's pictorial representations, seeking to use similar symbolic visuals in her writing. This is particularly relevant in a post-war context: according to Mansfield, previous forms of representation were rendered insufficient by the Great War, with language being unable to express the magnitude of the tragedies the world had witnessed. Mansfield draws on the visual qualities of the cinema in a variety of ways in her fiction. She makes use of surreal transformations in stories like 'At the Bay', as a means of illustrating Beryl's potential confusion about her sexuality in ambiguous terms. Her series of 'Vignettes' are particularly visually rich, and taboo subjects are again visually represented through temporal distortion and object animation,

both common effects in early trick film. The visual consciousness of Mansfield's fiction is also a means for her to explore gendered power dynamics. I have suggested that her story 'The Little Governess' anticipates Mulvey's arguments in 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', as the men the governess encounters fetishize her as a means of asserting their dominance. Mulvey's concept of the 'ego ideal' takes on an ambiguous quality when applied to female characters: as women's appearances and behaviour are circumscribed by a patriarchal society, their attempts to control their own actions and seek an 'ideal' version of the self are frequently thwarted.[16] Finally, the cinematicity of Mansfield's writing is also evident through her repeated motifs of windows and mirrors. In this section, I have re-examined the modern flâneur in the context of cinemagoing, interpreting the cinema as a twentieth-century form of flânerie. This is illustrated in Mansfield's 'Feuille d'Album', as Ian French voyeuristically watches his neighbour through the screen-like aperture of her window, indulging in visually immersive fantasies about their future lives together. The motif of the mirror similarly offers cinematic commentary on social expectations for women, with Mansfield's characters' contemplation of their appearances often causing the moment of 'breaking frame' that allows them to challenge their world views.

While writing this thesis, I have experienced certain restrictions that have limited its scope and methodological potential. I have attempted to provide as interdisciplinary a study as possible, taking into account the influences of a variety of forms of art and visual technology on Mansfield's writing and modernist thought patterns in general. However, due to concerns of space, I have not been able to expand on certain areas to the extent I would have liked. My chapter on art focuses primarily on Impressionist painting, as a consequence of the frequent references to these paintings in Mansfield's personal writing as well as the wealth of critical material that considers Mansfield's fiction in terms of its Impressionistic qualities. However, Mansfield was also engaged with other art movements, and further study on her relationship with J. D. Fergusson and the Scottish Colourists as well as her ties with Fauvism would undoubtedly be illuminating. Throughout her life, Mansfield expressed a love of and talent for music, and this musical influence is evident throughout her body of work. While I do briefly discuss the connection between literature and music in chapter four, I decided to limit the scope of this thesis to focus primarily on the visual arts, although this is potentially a subject for another piece of work. Furthermore, my chapters on pre-cinema and the panorama have mainly relied on the readings of other critics as well as images found in online archives. In order to gain access to the full breadth of visual material that Mansfield may have encountered in her early years, it would be necessary to visit archives in her native Wellington, an undertaking that has unfortunately not been possible during this project. Colligan's study of newspaper archives from nineteenth-century Australia and New Zealand as well as 'Lucerna – The Magic Lantern Web

Resource' and Stephen Herbert's web collection of audio-visual media have however provided me with a wealth of useful material with which to consider these often-forgotten forms of media.

Throughout this thesis, I have examined the relationship between Mansfield and the visual arts, considering her engagement with painting, photography, travel, and pre-cinematic forms of entertainment as well as the cinema itself. In doing so, I have provided an argument for the particular significance of the visual in women's fiction, as Mansfield and her female contemporaries made use of gendered subjectivities and cinematic visual effects in order to challenge the male-established conventions of language and develop a new literary voice. According to Ascari, 'innovation in literature is often the outcome of hybridisation, not only between genres, but between genres, arts and media'.[17] The influence of a variety of arts and media on Mansfield's writing is therefore what makes her work so unique, as she turns to the visual in order to explore how women see and are seen, as well as commenting indirectly on controversial topics through visual metaphor. While a wide variety of studies exist which compare modernist literature and the visual arts, from Trotter's *Cinema and Modernism* to Marcus' *The Tenth Muse*, this is a relatively recent area of critical enquiry in Mansfield studies, allowing me to situate my work in an area that continues to flourish. I believe that my chapter on the visual qualities of the journey as well as my two chapters on Mansfield and pre-cinema offer a particularly unique perspective on the cinematicity of Mansfield's writing, considering her work as the product of a media-rich culture. Through their focus on the visual, Mansfield's short stories provide a unique and experimental glimpse into her characters' subjective realities, inviting her readers to draw their own conclusions and challenge what they are taught to regard as truth.

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[1] Mansfield, *Selected Letters*, p.197.
[2] Julie Wosk, *Breaking Frame: Technology and Visual Arts in the Nineteenth Century* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992), p.3.
[3] Spiegel, p.22.
[4] Mansfield, *Journal*, p.37.
[5] Mansfield, *Collected Letters*, Vol. II, p.346.
[6] Pollock, *Vision and Difference*, p.62.
[7] Mansfield, *Journal*, p.71.
[8] Sturken and Cartwright, p.20.
[9] Léger, p.135.
[10] Friedberg, *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern*, p.6.
[11] Schivelbusch, p.35.
[12] Littau, p.68.
[13] Huhtamo, p.332.
[14] Taylor, p.9.
[15] Lejeune, p.9.
[16] Mulvey, p.836.
[17] Ascari, p.2.

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